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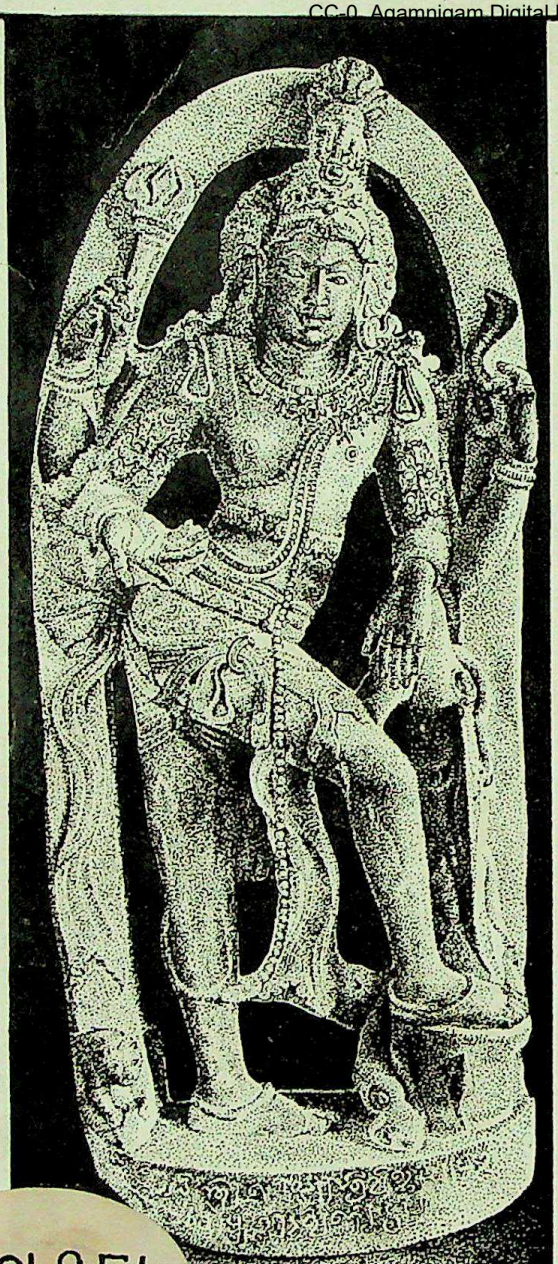

Royal Conquests and Cultural Migrations in SOUTH INDIA and the DECCAN

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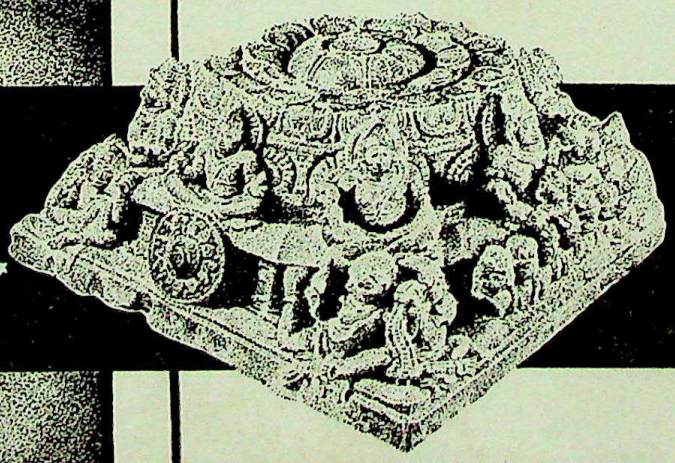

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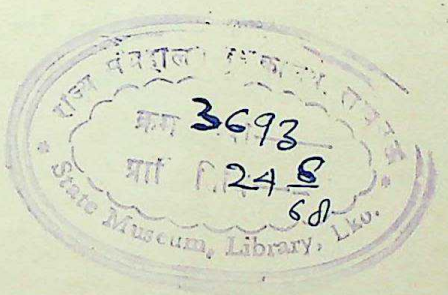

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ROYAL CONQUESTS
AND
CULTURAL MIGRATIONS
IN
SOUTH INDIA AND THE DECCAN

By

C. SIVARAMAMURTI, M.A.,

Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum

Issued by

THE TRUSTEES OF THE

INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA

1955

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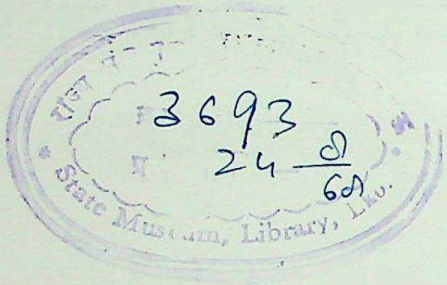

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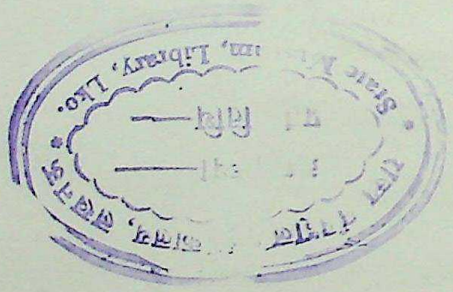
To the Memory of

PROFESSOR G. JOUVEAU DUBREUIL

whose precision, intuition and scholarship have revealed
glorious vistas of study in Indian History and Art



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FOREWORD

The functions of a Museum are not merely to arrange its collections and be the repository of objects of Art, Archæology and the different branches of sciences. The Trustees of the Indian Museum had in the past, conscious of their duty and responsibility, undertaken to publish Memoirs, Monographs, Catalogues and Handbooks. For many years such publications have remained suspended.

I have great pleasure in placing before the public the first of a new series of Monographs which the Trustees have decided to bring out.

The facile pen of Sri C. Sivaramamurti, M.A., the erudite Superintendent of the Archæological Section of our Museum has produced the work which, I am sure, will be appreciated.

How conquering hordes not only exercised influence on but were themselves influenced by the culture of the people subjugated or how the commingling of peoples inhabiting distant parts of this sub-continent gave rise to cultural contacts and regeneration are portrayed in this work particularly with reference to the archæological remains to be found in different museums. The figures and objects carved in stone treasured in museums and monuments are made to speak out and the masterly pen of the author has unfolded to us the life history of successive generations of people in ancient and medieval times.

I trust it will be possible for the authorities of the Indian Museum to continue this series and other monographs will follow.

RAMA PRASAD MOOKERJEE
Chairman,
Trustees, Indian Museum.

Calcutta.
2nd February, 1955.

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PREFACE

This paper formed the subject of the Sankara-Parvati Endowment Lectures for 1951-52 that I delivered at the University of Madras in December 1951. It is published with the kind permission of the authorities of the Madras University. My thanks are due to my friend and colleague, Mr. K. S. Srinivasan, Honorary Secretary to the Trustees of the Indian Museum, whose enthusiasm for publications accounts for this being taken up as the first of a series of research papers to be issued by the Trustees. To the Trustees of the Indian Museum I am equally thankful for very kindly arranging for this publication. To the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Rama Prasad Mookerjee, the Chairman of the Trustees, whose unbounded enthusiasm is a great stimulus for study and research in the Indian Museum, and who always reminds us of his great father Sir Asutosh Mookerjee who did so much to further the cause of the Indian Museum and recalls Kālidāsa's description of youthful Aja who appeared like his great father Raghu come back once more *raghum evā nivṛittayauvanam tam amanyanta narā nareśvaram,* my grateful thanks are due for his valuable suggestions and kind foreword. To Professor U. N. Ghoshal who has done so much to further the cause of Indian culture I am grateful for kindly going through the manuscript and offering valuable suggestions. The illustrations reproduced here are by the kind courtesy of the Department of Archaeology in India, the Departments of Archaeology of Mysore, Hyderabad and Gwalior, the Madras Government Museum, the Lucknow Museum and Dinas Purbakala of Indonesia to all of which and to Mr. Martin Hürliman and Dr. Barnet Kempers I am most thankful. To Dr. Priyatosh Banerji my thanks are due for kindly preparing the index.

C. SIVARAMAMURTI.

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ROYAL CONQUESTS AND CULTURAL MIGRATIONS IN SOUTH INDIA AND THE DECCAN

Introductory

The pages of history are filled with accounts of the glory of kings who extended their kingdoms by fresh conquests, established their supremacy, crowned themselves emperors, performed sacrifices possible only by paramount sovereigns and left indelible marks of their supreme importance all over the land. But these conquests as such have always been of an ephemeral nature and only of momentary importance. The more abiding and permanent consequences have been cultural. Success or defeat in a battle was a personal loss or gain to the sovereign but the effect of either profoundly affected very often the territory of the victor and vanquished. A great empire knit together different peoples, introduced them to common institutions and spread a common culture, though some individuality was still retained according to the genius of the people, their special predilections and idiosyncrasies. Sometimes long after the break up of such an empire the political successors in different areas continued the earlier common culture; and this accounts for strong similarity about the same period in different parts politically independent at the time but component parts earlier of a larger unit. Sometimes a great victor was struck with admiration and adopted what were essential features of the culture of a dynasty long reduced to dust with all its glory forgotten. Sometimes the politically vanquished sovereign had something glorious to give as a lesson of culture to his victor, who, it must be said to his credit, enthusiastically accepted it, though it was really a cultural conquest of the political victor by the vanquished. Sometimes it is the victor himself who carried his own cultural torch to brighten up the area of the vanquished and introduced new seeds of wisdom and light. At other times a victor who settled down in a newly gained realm made himself at home in that land and his progeny fostered local culture as assiduously as if it were its own. Intercourse between different states for various purposes enlarged the cultural vision of people. Maritime enterprise, colonial expansion, social and religious migration together with the changing boundaries of larger and smaller kingdoms and empires due to political movements in the war path have their own story to tell to elucidate several details of the little understood chapter of Indian culture.

A common heritage

One is struck by the similarity of dress, ornamentation and features of sculptures of the early centuries before and about the Christian era all over the land. The same type of turban, the same heavy ear-rings, the same armlets and bracelets the former high up on the arm and with trefoil decoration, the same drapery arrangement for men, and fan-shaped coiffure, necklace of pearls and heavy anklets for women, do really call for some comment, when they occur alike in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves, at Sāñchī in Central India, at Bhārhut further to the north, in the early Western Indian caves, at Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapeta in the Krishṇā valley, in Kauśāmbī and Mathurā in the Gangetic region. It only explains that the break up of the Mauryan empire was only political and culturally it still survived, as the component parts still continued the common art traditions of the earlier generations. If an inscription as a label for an early carving of an Yaksha from Amarāvatī giving his

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name as Chandramukha Yaksha reveals to us that Yaksha worship was in vogue in the Kṛishṇā valley as in North India, it does throw light on the dissemination of this culture in a land where it is not so frequent. If alongside with Aśokan inscriptions in South India there are inscriptions like those from Bhaṭṭiprolu in the Kṛishṇā valley and the early Tamil inscriptions from the caves and caverns all along the extreme south with a special individuality of their own, it only speaks of the culture diffused under a single parasol that could understand and foster the peculiar features marking out the area. So side by side with the common royal script the local script with its peculiarities could still survive to fulfil its purpose. If the discovery of his edicts all over the land have helped in understanding the extent of Aśoka's empire similarly other finds have helped to understand the extent of other empires and along with that the cultural links associated with them. The discovery of Apīlaka's coin in the river Mahānadī, the Sātavāhana inscription at Sāñchī, the find of ship coins of Yajña Śrī Śātakarṇi in the Coromondal coast and the find of a terracotta with fan-shaped headdress of about the beginning of the Christian era at Pondicherry have all a great significance in pointing to the extent of influence of Sātavāhana culture. The terracotta just mentioned is a remarkable one found by that great savant Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil at Arikameḍu and now preserved in the Madras Museum. The fan-shaped headgear reminds us at once of similar figures from Sāñchī and Amarāvatī and together with the find of ship coins of Śātakarnī point to the extent of his empire or his influence in the South.

The story a motif can tell

In a 2nd century carving from Amarāvatī depicting a scene of Māradharshaṇa, one of the dwarf attendants of Māra is shown with a lion-head deftly introduced on his stomach as a motif (Text fig. 1 a). This is a remarkable piece and unless carefully observed it does not stand out prominently. In a 3rd century sculpture from Ghaṇṭaśālā also from

Text fig. 1 : *Udaremukha motif from—a, Amarāvatī ; b, Ghaṇṭaśālā ; c, Ajaṇṭā ; d, Bādāmī ; e, Prambanan.*

the Kṛishṇā valley, in a scene of similar nature, a similar figure is seen but the face on the stomach here is human (Text fig. 1 b). In one of the paintings from Ajaṇṭā representing Māradharshaṇa the same type of figure occurs (Text fig. 1 c). When we remember that the earliest mention of Vākāṭaka is in an Amarāvatī inscription of the 2nd century

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A.D. we can infer how probably the Vākāṭakas may have migrated from the Krishṇā valley and kept on the connections by their matrimonial alliance with the Vishṇukuṇḍins; and the travel of the motif then becomes easy to understand. We find it again in the Māradharshaṇa scene at Sārnāth. When we remember the relationship between the Vākāṭakas and the Guptas through Prabhāvatīguptā we can understand how the motif should have travelled further north. On the stomach of one of the dwarf Gaṇas in a frieze at Bādāmī, the same motif occurs, but this time a lion-head, and it is easily understood, as the Chāḷukyas were the political successors of the Vākāṭakas in the Deccan (Text fig. 1 d). In Pallava sculpture at Mahābalipuram the same motif occurs in Arjuna's penance and it continues in early Choḷa sculpture in Kāveripākkam. The source is not difficult to trace. But all this is based on a single line describing the motif in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki *kabandham udaremukham* (*Rāmāyaṇa* II, 69, 27). This description of Kabandha, the monster with a face on his stomach, is no doubt striking; but to comprehend this, one has to turn to Java, where, at Prambanan, there is a remarkable carving answering Vālmīki's description, just in the appropriate context, in the long and interesting series of panels depicting the story of Rāma (Text fig. 1 e). All the earlier representations of the motif in the land of its origin are out of context and one has to turn to Java to understand the full significance of the original motif. Indian influences in Java specially from the southern part of the peninsula are very well known and the travel of the motif can well be imagined. When we recall that both at Barabudur and at Prambanan there are clear marked influences both Pallava and Chāḷukya, we can understand the great zeal for portraying the story of Rāma and the juvenile exploits of baby Krishṇa at Prambanan, by turning to the homeland, just to see how important a hold they had on the imagination of people, resulting in the depiction of similar scenes at Bādāmī, Ellora, and in the temple of the transitional period from Pallava to Choḷa of Nāgeśvarasvāmi at Kumbakoṇam. The remarkable miniature carvings illustrating the *Rāmāyaṇa* all around the sanctum of the temple are among the loveliest in the land and take rank almost with the exquisite carvings of Java which are probably the best in the world illustrating the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

A great theme has an appeal

One of the most remarkable carvings at Mahābalipuram is the fight of Mahishāsuramardinī with the demon wearing a buffalo's head. While everywhere in North India and even in the Deccan, Mahishamardinī is shown trampling a buffalo, from whose cut neck issues a demon in fighting attitude, and while as Durgā Mahishamardinī she is shown calm standing on the cut head of a buffalo in the Tamil country, it is at Mahābalipuram that a great Pallava sculptor has created a great form of Devī seated unruffled on her lion playfully fighting the tremendous monster in front of her (Pl. I a). To emphasise the great exploit, Devī is shown normal in size, her opponent colossal and with dignified royal bearing, an umbrella raised over his head, but still she fights with ease from her lion, while in other representations the figure of Devī dwarfs the opponent represented as buffalo under her feet in killing whom great effort is evident. The appeal that this panel always has had is clear from the fact that the sculptor of the great Rāshṭrakūṭa king Krishṇa has paid a tribute as it were to this panel, by almost adopting it in his own version of the theme in that magnificent temple at Ellora which is a wonder of temple architecture (Pl. 1 b).

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Similar has been the appeal of the Govardhana panel at Mahābalipuram. The magnificent rendering of the theme at Mahābalipuram by the Pallava sculptor which eclipses the rather poor rendering at Mogalrājapuram cave near Vijayavāda of the Vishṇukuṇḍin period which is its immediate source, has caught the imagination of the Rāshtrakūṭa sculptor who has also rendered it at Ellora. But an enthusiasm to deviate from a simple rendering of Krishṇa as cow-boy still obvious in spite of his heroic proportions, has resulted in the inclusion of an additional pair of arms, that transforms the subject from mortal to immortal.

The Varāha panel at Udayagiri in Central India is a fitting monument of the glory of the Guptas who raised the land to the heights of prosperity like Ādi-varāha who raised Prithvī (Pl. II c). This great theme so appealed that many a king adopted the Varāha motif. The great Varāha panel at Bādāmī in the cave excavated by Maṅgaleśa (Pl. II a) was something that could not but capture the imagination of Narasiṁhavarman, the great victor and capturer of Bādāmī, *Vātāpikoṇḍa*. And is it any wonder that Narasiṁhavarman's sculptor has given a faithful rendering of the theme he saw at Bādāmī in his own homeland at Mahābalipuram with such differences as his own artistic talent could diffuse it with (Pl. II b) ?

Similarly again one who visits Ellora (Pl. III d) after seeing Mahābalipuram, specially the Arjunaratha (Pl. III a), is bound to be struck by a great idea in the case of these great temples. Elephants are introduced as caryatides supporting the structure. The idea behind this is that of the *diggajas* the elephants of the quarters supporting the earth. This grand idea has appealed to the Pallava sculptor, as the temple itself, judging from the inscriptions like *śaile kailāsalīlāmanubhavati grihe rājasiṁheśvarākhyām bibhratyabhramlihāgre* is likened to a great mountain like Kailāsa or Mandara which is the only possible substitute in art to suggest the vast weight and expanse of the earth. This idea has so appealed to the Rāshtrakūṭa sculptor that he has freely utilised it and even improved it. The source for both is still earlier in a *dagoba* from Ceylon of the 3rd century A.D., supported by elephants. Influences from India in Ceylon and from the latter island in India are not infrequent. We may recall that some of the sculptures from Polonnaruva of early date recall features of Sātavāhana sculptures of the Krishṇā valley. In fact some carvings in marble closely resembling Amarāvatī sculpture have been found in Ceylon. The carved decorative moonstones from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa recall similar larger and more beautifully embellished ones from Ceylon ; and the inscriptions from the *ayaka* pillars at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa confirm a cordial relationship between the island and the mainland.

One of the most glorious concepts of Hindu culture is the milky ocean, a vast expanse of that pure white source of life and radiance, milk, from which arose like gems from the ocean everything that the heart may desire even in its wildest flights like the very goddess of Fortune, the wish-fulfilling tree, the celestial elephant, heavenly nymphs, jewel without a peer and so forth. But even more important than these was the jar of the immortal elixir of life, the divine ambrosia for which gods and demons alike put forth their best effort to churn the occean with the great mountain Mandara as the churn-stick and the titanic serpent Ananta as the rope. This great theme not without reason inspired the sculptor. At Udayagiri in Central India there is an important frieze on doorway depicting this great scene of the churning of the milky ocean (Pl. IV f). And later this was repeated in other monuments. The fragments of Kākatīya painting that remain to help

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our study of the school are not many, but probably the most important of what little is left is a fine depiction of the scene of milky ocean churned by the immortals (Pl. IV d). When we remember that at Bādāmī the same scene occurs (Pl. IV e), that the Chāḷukyas were the political successors of the Vākāṭakas who came under Gupta influence, and that the Kākatīyas succeeded the Chāḷukyas not only in a part of their empire but also continued their traditions, the source of the great theme becomes obvious. But probably nowhere else except in Cambodia has this great Indian theme been worked out to arrest the attention of the visitor of the monument, the temple itself being constructed as something in the nature of a mountain like Meru or Mandara or Kailāsa a concept familiar in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in literature generally in lines like *merumandarasankāśairālikhadbhirivāmbaram* (*Rāmāyaṇa* V, 9, 14). The long balustrade on either side leading on to the temple was so conceived and executed as to contain a motif of a long many-hooded snake held on either side by Devas (Pl. IV a) and Asuras (Pl. IV c) in a long row, the entire expanse all around the temple and leading on to it conceived as the milky ocean. This grand concept is a monumental and spectacular presentation of one of the greatest of the sublime ideas of Hindu culture. In the vicinity of this temple of Vishṇu at Ankor Thom and leading on to it is the great *vimāna* tower with colossal faces of Śiva in the four directions (Pl. IV b). This *chaturmukha* form of colossal Śiva reminds us of the four-faced Śivaliṅgas in India of the early mediaeval period portrayed both in sculpture and described in literature as by Bāṇa in the context of Mahāśvetā's worship of Śiva *chaturmukhaṁ charācharaguruṁ bhagavantaṁ tryambakaṁ* (*Kādambarī*). The significance of this in the context of this temple is something unique as it suggests that this great Lord drank up the deadly poison that issued along with the other appealing objects which formed the bone of contention in the matter of possession among those who churned the ocean to get them out. And a later day poet Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkshita, the minister of Tirumala Nāyak describes this in a humorous vein in his verse :

dṛishṭvā kaustubham apsaroganamapi prakrāntavādā mithaḥ
gīrvāṇāḥ kati vā na santi bhuvane bhārā divaḥ kevalam |
nishkrānte garale drute suragaṇe niścheshṭite vishṭape
mābhaishṭeti girāvirāsa dhuri yo devas tameva stumah ||

(*Nīlakaṇṭhavijaya champū* i, 2)

So then this great monument in Cambodia is the greatest compliment in the language of sculpture to this grand Indian conception of the churning of the milky ocean and the drinking of the terrible poison *Kālakūta* by Śiva as the saviour of the universe.

Another great theme which Kālidāsa has considered so sublime as to be chosen for being sung by sweet-voiced Kinnarīs is Śiva's Tripuravijaya. *samraktābhistripuravijayo gīyate kinnarībhiḥ* (*Meghadūta* I, 58). The convention in representation of warrior with drawn bow is to show him standing in *ālidha* posture. In Gupta sculpture and also in the coins of the lion and tiger slayer types it is similar posture. Even in far off Gandhāra sculpture showing Siddhārtha in the archery contest it is a similar posture. In the battle scene from Amarāvatī which is one of the most telling the posture is the same. So it is no wonder that in the representation of Tripurāntaka at Ellora (Pl. VI c) Śiva is shown standing in all his martial glory answering Kālidāsa's description *atishṭhadālīḍhaviśeshaśobhinā vapuḥprakarsheṇa viḍambiteśvaraḥ* (*Raghuvaṁśa* III, 52). This same theme which has been a

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source of inspiration for the mighty kings intent on conquest and assertion of power has been chosen by Pallava monarchs as well. And Rājasiṁha who was a great devotee of Śiva and built the famous Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchīpuram originally known as Rājasiṁheśvaragṛiha has here presented the theme of Tripurāntaka. The theme is often repeated and in the Olakkanātha temple at Mahābalipuram it is again present as also at the Shore temple. Here the sculptor of Nandivarman II has placed some emphasis on the arrow of Śiva composed of Vishṇu himself. Here in Pallava sculpture Śiva as Tripurāntaka unlike as in other representations of his in South India is depicted multi-armed, a feature which we usually find in North Indian representations of forms like Nateśa, Bhairava, Mahākāla, Andhakāri and so forth. This is more to emphasize the importance of this form of a great victor. The ease with which he won the battle is suggested by depicting him in an *ālīdha* posture wherein the legs are so bent that the figure is practically seated. This becomes more marked in the magnificent panel of Tripurāntaka from the Rājarājeśvara temple at Tanjore which is a wonder of early Choḷa painting (Pl. V a). Here the great paraphernalia for fighting the Tripuras like the earth chariot on sun and moon wheels, drawn by the Vedas as steeds, driven by Brahmā as charioteer, the tremendous bow and string composed respectively of Meru and Vāsuki, with Vishṇu as arrow, and the entire host of immortals as aid, here indicated by Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and Kālī, is all rendered in a manner to suggest that they were utterly superfluous as the very knit brow of the three-eyed One who took the matter easy in a posture of ease was enough to drive dismay into the hearts of the enemy host whose fierce fighting was one of despair to which a tinge of pathos is added by the tearstained entreaties of their womenfolk dissuading them from battle (Pl. V b). The great conqueror Rājarāja rightly chose this great theme from his predecessors the Pallavas and gave it a prominence hitherto unknown. As a great victor he made this the greatest and most magnificent theme for presentation in his unique series of paintings. It has been given greater prominence than even their own ancestral god, the dancing deity at Chidambaram, whose pavilion was covered with gold by his ancestor. Rājarāja was still not satisfied until he repeated the theme of this, the greatest of victors, in every tier of his colossal *vimāna* shrine ; but here the form is somewhat different and shows Śiva standing four-armed with the bow and arrow in his hand and this along with the form of Kirātamūrti who fought with and appreciated the great battle given by Arjuna whom he blessed with the *Pāśupata* weapon is repeated times without number to suggest that these are the great inspiration for this great victorious monarch. It may be remembered that this is the one form that has different versions and variations given in the texts describing it. In the Rājarājeśvara temple itself there is another type, a fine bronze, representing Śiva four-armed with hands in position to hold the bow and arrow but with one of his feet resting on a dwarf (Pl. VI a). Just as in the case of Mahishamardinī Durgā there is corresponding to the sculpture in action one in repose standing and cutting buffalo's head, Śiva as Tripurāntaka is similarly shown fighting and also standing at ease.

The Vishṇu parallel of this is the Trivikrama form wherein also the god who is usually four-armed is shown multi-armed when in action, with one of his legs raised for measuring the universe. A great and imposing panel representing this is at Bādāmī where it is repeated (Pl. VI d). Narasiṁhavarman who raised Pallava honour like Varāha traversed and laid his foot with his inscription of victory on the hill at Bādāmī like Trivikrama and ordered his sculptor to carve on either side in the Varāha Cave II the Varāha and Trivikrama panels (Pl. VI b) that attracted his eye in Mangaleśa's cave temples at Bādāmī ; and

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later also, the devout king Nandivarman Pallavamalla was a great devotee of this deity of Ashṭabhuja Trivikrama in Kāñchī as mentioned in one of the hymns of Tirumangai āḻvār on the deity. The normal four-armed form of Trivikrama is a simple standing figure which is one of the twenty-four varieties of the Vishṇu image.

Frequent military inroads leave a cultural impress

Two groups of carvings are bound to impress a student of South Indian plastic form ; a group of sculptures from Kāñchīpuram, carved of a fine variety of greenish basalt, of exceptional beauty of workmanship, and in respect of ornamentation and some other features somewhat different from the simpler local school, a similar group of early carvings found in the Tiruvottiyūr temple near Madras of which all except a bust of Chāmuṇḍā carved out of similar rock are now lost, and a whole series of sculptures and architectural fragments of which a great wealth has been utilised for the construction of the huge tank bund in recent times by the P.W.D., at Kāveripākkam, and that clearly point to Chāḷukya and Rāshtrakūṭa influence in the matter of details of decoration and ornamentation which has transformed the late Pallava and early Chola art into something rich and strange. The first mentioned group except for two broken pieces now in the Madras Museum is all in the Musee Guimet and represents Mātrikās and Śiva. The last mentioned is a huge collection of which many good specimens have been rescued and brought to the Madras Museum. When I was struck by this extra decorative element recalling Chāḷukya influence and expected this naturally because of the frequent Chālukya and Rāshṭrakūṭa inroads into the area of the Pallavas and Cholas, Dr. Gravely, who has made a special study of temple architecture and motifs, drew my attention, in confirmation of my surmise, to the fact that the pillar capitals from Kāveripākkam were indeed in the Chāḷukya style itself, and this has confirmed what we gather from the inscriptions.

From the time of the three great stalwarts Pulakeśin, Harshavarddhana and Narasiṁhavarman the fight for suzerainty continued and ultimately weakened the Pallavas and Chālukyas and brought on the Rāshṭrakūṭas in one area and the Cholas in the other. Pulakeśin stemmed the march of Harshavardhana southwards, and in his glorious military campaign forced Mahendravarman I 'the Lord of the Pallavas to retreat behind the walls of Kāñchīpuram'. Mahendravarman's son Narasiṁhavarman I to avenge this insult to his father led his forces and defeated Pulakeśin in the battles of Pariyala, Maṇimaṅgala and Śūramāra. Not content with this he planned a counter invasion ; and with his army under the command of Siruttoṇḍa he went to the very capital of the Chāḷukyas, Bādāmī, inflicted a crushing defeat on his adversary and commemorated his victory by an inscription which describes it. This important record in the heart of the Chāḷukya empire indicates the supreme triumph of Narasiṁhavarman. But culturally what all Narasiṁhavarman could carry back to be repeated at Mahābalipuram shows that the victor stooped to gather blossoms of culture from the land of the vanquished. The subsequent feuds between Vikramāditya I, the Chāḷukya king who fought over and over again with Parameśvaravarman I, the Pallava king have been many. Vikramāditya claims the conquest of Kāñchī but the Kūram grant of Parameśvaravarman gives one of the most graphic pictures of battle in epigraphical literature and describes how effectively he defeated and made Vikramāditya 'whose army consisted of several *lakshas* take to flight covered only by a rag'. The battle of Peruvaḷanallūr may have given the victory to Parameśvaravarman but the frequent in-

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roads of the Chāḷukyas in Pallava territory and vice versa have created a permanent record of cultural fusion as we see in sculpture in both areas. During the time of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, whose original name before his coronation was Parameśvara immortalised in Tirumaṅgai āḻvār's reference to the Vishṇu temple built by him at Kāñchī and named after him Parameśvaraviṇṇagaram, the Chāḷukya king Vikramāditya II invaded Kāñchī and 'beat and put to flight, at the opening of the campaign, the opposing Pallava king named Nandipotavarman, took possession of particular musical instruments called *Kaṭumukhavāditra,* the *Samudraghosha,* the *Khaṭvāṅgadhvaja,* many excellent and well known intoxicated elephants and a heap of rubies which dispelled darkness by the brilliancy of the multitude of their rays . . . entered without destroying the city of Kāñchī, which was as it were a girdle adorning yonder lady, the region of the south . . . . . rejoiced the Brāhmaṇas, and poor and helpless people by the uninterrupted liberality . . . . . acquired high merit by restoring heaps of gold to the stone temple of Rājasiṁheśvara, and other gods which have been caused to be built by Narasiṁhapotavarman', as given in the Kendūr plates. There is actually an inscription of Vikramāditya II in the Rajasiṁheśvara temple in Kāñchī on a pillar in the front *maṇḍapa* which records that Vikramāditya Satyāśraya did not confiscate the property of that temple after his conquest of Kāñchī but granted large sums for the deity. As we gather from the Vakkaleri grant of his son Kīrtivarman II, Vikramāditya made gifts to the Rājasiṁheśvara temple at Kāñchī and was so impressed with the images and carvings and sculptural decoration which greeted his eyes in this temple that he had them overlaid with gold. This surely leads us to the supposition that being struck by the beauty of the Pallava temples at Kāñchī Vikramāditya induced some of the best sculptors and architects of the Pallava realm to come to his kingdom ; and it is interesting to find that there is evidence for this not only in the sculptural and architectural features of the temples of his period at Paṭṭaḍakal but also the support of two inscriptions on the eastern gateway of the Virūpāksha temple one of which mentions the builder as 'the most eminent *śūtradhārī* of the southern country'. Another on the east face of the temple of Pāpanātha eulogises a sculptor Chaṭṭara-Revadi-Ovajja who is described as one who 'made the southern country', *i.e.,* who built temples of the Southern country, and this sculptor belonged to the guild of the Sarvasiddhi-āchāryas the same as that of the architect of the Virūpāksha temple. An inscription from the east gateway of the courtyard of the Virūpāksha temple mentions that the *sūtradhārī* Guṇḍa constructed it for Lokamahādevī the queen of Vikramāditya II to commemorate his conquest of Kāñchī three times over. Built practically on the same plan as the Virūpāksha temple and similar in design is the Mallikārjuna or Trailokyeśvara temple in its vicinity built by the junior queen of Vikramāditya, Trailokyamahādevī.

Within a few years the rule of the early Western Chāḷukyas came to an end and the Rāshṭrakūtas under Dantidurga established their power. Dantidurga continued the traditional feud between the Chāḷukyas and the Pallavas and taking the place of the Chāḷukyas chose the time when there was confusion in the Pallava kingdom owing to the change in succession when Nandivarman Pallavamalla was chosen king after Parameśvaravarman II. The Ellora inscription and the Bagumra plates of Indra III mention the conquest of Kāñchī, the latter most poetically how first having established itself on the alluring lower region (southern country) of the earth damsel, and after freely and softly pressing the central region, the hand of this prince set itself on the region of Kāñchī (lit, the region of the city Kāñchī and the region of the girdle *i.e.,* below the waist), even as a lover's hand

FREQUENT MILITARY INROADS LEAVE A CULTURAL IMPRESS Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

after establishing itself on the hip of a damsel that lures the heart, and freely and softly pressing the waist again sets itself on the region of the girdle beneath the waist. This military expedition resulted in the marriage of Nandivarman with the Rāshṭrakūṭa princess Revā whose son Dantivarman is named after his maternal grandfather. The matrimonial alliance however did not avert another invasion by the Rāshṭrakūṭas under Govinda III. The inscription of Dantidurga in the Daśāvatāra cave in Ellora shows that Dantidurga was excavating cave temples here at Ellora and a little to the north of this is excavated the great monolithic temple of Kailāsa which is one of the great wonders of architecture in the world conceived and executed by Kṛishṇa I the successor of Dantidurga. It is here to be noted that the Kailāsa temple at Ellora closely follows the Lokeśvara Virūpāksha temple at Pattaḍakal in plan and details though one is excavated and monolithic and the other a structural one. Even the details of sculptured panels are repeated. The verse of the Bagumra plates which shows the manner in which Dantidurga approached Kāñchī, his attitude towards Nandivarman on whom he bestowed his daughter together with the expression in the Talegaon plates *kāñchīguṇālaṁkṛita viśvambharā nijavaniteva sā tena bhuktā* describing how Kṛishṇa I enjoyed the earth damsel adorned by the beautiful excellences of Kāñchī (strings of girdle) as if she were his own lady, makes it clear that the Rāshṭrakūṭas like the Chāḷukyas were deeply impressed by the superior art and architecture of the Pallavas as they saw at Kāñchī specially in the Kailāsanātha temple (Rājasiṁheśvara temple) and as this had already inspired the Virūpāksha and Trailokyeśvara temples at Pattaḍakal of the time of Vikramāditya II, the same inspired the great Ellora temple of which the architects were probably the same or those in the pupilage of the famous architects from the south responsible for the Paṭṭaḍakal temples. It may be recalled that it is this remarkable resemblance in details existing between the Kailāsa temple at Ellora and Kāñchī that led Professor Dubreuil to look for and discover paintings in the latter when he found that they existed in the former, and how richly his search was rewarded is only too well known, though the paintings may be fragmentary. The beauty of this monument of Kailāsa has been graphically described in the Baroda grant of Karka Suvarṇavarsha *elāpurāchalagatādbhutasanniveśam yad vīkshya vismitavimānacharāmarendrāḥ | etat svayambhuśivadhāma na kṛitrimam śrīrdṛishtedṛiśīti satatam bahu charchayanti || bhūyastathāvidhakṛitau vyavasāyahāniretanmayā kathamaho kṛitamityakasmāt | kartāpi yasya khalu vismayamāpa śilpī tannāma kīrtanamakāryata yena rājñā ||* (*Ind. Antiq.* XII p. 59). 'Seeing this wonderful temple on the mountain of Elāpura, the astonished immortals travelling in celestial cars always take much thought saying "This is surely the abode of Svayambhū-Śiva and not an artificially made (building). Has ever such beauty been seen?" Verily even the architect who built it felt astonished, saying "The utmost perseverence would fail to accomplish such a work again ; Ah how has it been achieved by me ?' and, by reason of it, the king was caused to praise his name." When this great temple of such wondrous beauty has taken as its basis the Lokeśvara temple it is no wonder that the architect *sūtradhāri* Śrī Sarvasiddhi āchārya is praised in the inscription in that temple as 'the asylum of all virtuous qualities ; the creator of many cities and houses ; he whose conversation is entirely perfect and refined ; he who has for a jewelled diadem and crest-jewel the houses and palaces and vehicles and seats and couches that he constructed ; the most eminent *sūtradhāri* of the southern country' (*Ind. Antiq.* X p. 165). It was a tribute paid by Kṛishṇa (Pl. III b) to the aesthetic taste of Vikramāditya, a scion of the vanquished dynasty, and an appreciation of the equally subjugated southern power at Kāñchī (Pl. III a) which was the source of this artistic appeal.

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Kṛishṇa III who occupied Toṇḍamaṇḍalam about 944 and continued to hold it to the end of his reign has left many inscriptions in Chingleput, North Arcot and South Arcot districts to clearly indicate that he had not only made his power felt in the south but that his claim as conqueror of Kāñchī and Tanjore is not an idle boast and that a good part of the northern portion of the Chola kingdom was annexed to his territory. The victory of Kṛishṇa at Takkolam was also due to the fact that the valiant crown prince Rājāditya who led the Chola army that fought with great spirit and even overwhelmed the Rāshṭrakūṭas was unfortunately killed in the battle while fighting seated on the back of an elephant. Nearly twentyfive years of rule of the Rāshṭrakūṭas in the northern part of the Chola dominion need not make us wonder why we have sculpture showing a mingled grace of Chālukya and Chola elements of workmanship as we find in the ruined temples and sculptures from Kāveripākkam.

In these carvings from Kāveripākkam where at once we can notice Rāshṭrakūṭa influence we can see the peculiar ornamental designs on necklets, armlets, bracelets and girdles with a number of pearl tassels and other decorative element which is not so profuse in the purely local Pallava school even in its later phase in spite of its being more advanced than the simpler earlier phase. The pillar corbels from Kāveripākkam which are clearly in the Chālukya style and the inscriptions themselves help us to understand that all this influence is due to Rāshṭrakūṭa occupation and the earlier Chālukya inroads into Pallava and Chola area. From the Karhad inscription of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Krishṇa III we learn he was encamped at Melpāḍi near Tiruvallam in the North Arcot district for establishing his followers in the southern provinces and for constructing temples to Kalapriya, Gandamārtāṇḍa, Kṛishṇeśvara and others and a Chola inscription of a Rājakesarivarman of later date at Kāveripākkam mentioning an endowment to Kīrtimārtāṇḍa Kalapriya temple shows that Kṛishṇa III had built this and similar temples.

It is well known from the Maṇḍagapaṭṭu inscription of Mahendravarman I that the type of cave temple he excavated in his realm was a novelty and he was the first to introduce it in the Tamil country. The lines *etadanishtakam adruman alauham asudham vichitrachittena nirmāpitam nṛipeṇa brahmeśvaravishṇulakshitāyatanam* show clearly that the earlier structures were of less permanent material. So then Mahendravarman is happy that he is a curious-minded king and architect with novel ideas and the resources to execute his thought into tangible form. Thus we have the famous early Pallava cave temples of his time which were later continued by his equally enthusiastic son Narasiṁhavarman I. This novel introduction of temple architecture in the Tamil country has earned for Mahendravarman the distinctive titles of *Vichitrachitta, Chaityakāri* and so forth. We know that originally Mahendravarman was a Jain and was converted by the great saint Appar and in his zeal as a new convert he studded his kingdom with cave temples for Śiva and Vishṇu. Tirujñānasambandar the baby saint, the younger contemporary of Appar, was requested by the minister Kulachchirai at the instance of the queen Maṅgayarkaraśi to convert her husband the Pāṇḍya king Arikesari Parāṅkuśa who was a Jain. This king ruled in the second half of the 7th century and the story of Sambanda gives a graphic account of how the saint convinced the king and converted him back to the fold of his forefathers and how the Jains suffered a defeat; and with enthusiasm the new convert advanced his faith being wholeheartedly helped by both his queen, a princess from the Chola country, and by his minister, who were all religious enthusiasts. The Pāṇḍya kings at an earlier stage were

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eclipsed for a time by the Kalabhras but again established themselves and were fighting frequently with the Pallavas who having dispossessed the Cholas of most of their ancestral kingdom extended their own boundary up to the Tiruchirapalli district. The feud with the Pallavas during the time of Arikesari Māravarman is described in the Velvikkudi grant where the Pāṇḍya king is reported to have conquered the vast forces of Vilveli in the battle of Nelveli, and this is confirmed by the larger Sinnamanūr plates. Simhavishṇu the Pallava king is reported to have conquered, among others like Mālava, Chola, Pāṇḍya, and Simhala, the Kalabhras, as given in the Kaśākkudi plates. Mahendravarman I succeeded his father in a large kingdom and continued the traditions of his great father and being a versatile genius took greater pleasure in the arts of peace rather than war and if he was forced to take shelter in the city of Kāñchī when Pulakeśi invaded his kingdom it was more because of his unpreparedness rather than his lack of military prowess. His son Narasimhavarman I who was the greatest military genius of the Pallava dynasty pursued Pulakeśin to his own capital and utterly put an end to his power. Narasimhavarman with his mighty fleet also restored his friend Mānavarman to the throne of Ceylon. So till the end of the reign of Narasimhavarman the Pallava power was at its zenith but after him the renewal of Chālukya Pallava feud weakened both. It was about this time that the feud with the Pāṇḍyas also came in. This reached a height during the time of Nandivarman Pallavamalla as the time was very opportune for the Pāṇḍya king Māravarman Rājasimha I also known as Pallavabhañjana to attack the kingdom which was in a confused state due to change in succession. The Velvikkudi grant describes how he defeated Pallavamalla and made him fly from the battle ascribing him a series of victories at Neḍuvayal, Kurumaḍai, Mannikurichchi, Tirumaṅgai, Puvalūr, Koḍumbālūr and Kulumbūr where the Pallava king was deprived of his splendour and a number of his elephants and horses captured. These campaigns led to the seige of Nandivarman Pallavamalla in Nandigrāma by the Tamil princes and from this he was rescued by his able and victorious general Udayachandra whose several successes are narrated in the Udayendiram plates of Pallavamalla. The Pāṇḍya king appears to have espoused the cause of a son of Parameśvaravarman II who was kept out of his throne by the usurper Nandivarman Pallavamalla because of the connection by marriage of the Pāṇḍya king Kochchaḍayan with a Pallava princess. Again his son Neḍuñjaḍayan won a victory over the Pallava king Nandivarman early in his reign. It is this Neḍuñjaḍayan whose chief minister *Uttaramantri* was Māraṅgāri alias Madurakavi of the *Vaidyakula* of Karavandapura who excavated a temple for Vishṇu in the Ānamalai hill in the neighbourhood of Madura and recorded it in an inscription.

If against this background we study the early Pāṇḍya monuments we can understand why both the cave temples and the rock-hewn free-standing temples so closely resemble and recall the Pallava monuments of the early period. We have already seen that Appar and Tirujñānasambandar were contemporaries though the latter was very much junior to the former in age. We know also that Mahendravarman introduced the art of excavating cave temples in the Tamil country and it was looked on with wonder in his time ; and his son Narasimhavarman began the art of carving monolithic free-standing temples. The Pāṇḍyas were like the Chālukyas frequently fighting and were struck with the beauty of the Pallava cave-temples and monolithic shrines. They had also marriage connection with the Pallavas as in the case of Kochchaḍayan the father of Rājasimha and the aesthetic taste of a princess of the Pallava line would not have gone without self expression specially when we remember that Raṅgapatākā the queen of Rājasimha associated herself with her husband

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in the construction of lovely temples in Kāñchīpuram, and this artistic taste was inborn in their family. It is no wonder therefore that considering the proximity of the Pallava and the Pāṇḍya boundary with the Chola power practically eclipsed for the time, the Pāṇḍyas adopted the grand new innovations in architecture of the royal disciple of Appar for whom Sambanda had paternal reverence almost, and the king converted by Sambandar could not have followed better example than that of Mahendravarman, and it is no wonder that Mahendravarman's style of temple architecture and his son's were adopted in the land of the foes of the Pallavas. Here the zeal of religious faith and appreciation of newly introduced novel mode of architecture accounts for such cave temples as that at Tirumalaipuram, at Tiruparaṅkunram, the Vishṇu temple at Āṉamalai, the Kaḷugumalai temple and so forth. The massive pillars divided into three cubical parts, the corbels, the arrangement of cells, *dvārapālas* and the anatomy, ornamentation and disposition of the figures of the deities in the cave-temples like the one at Tirumalaipuram show how powerfully the influence of Pallava tradition has spread in this area and a look at the free-standing rock-cut temple at Kaḷugumalai (Pl. III c) with its peculiar arrangement of pavilions and *kūdus* and *śikhara* and other ornamental features including the figure carvings with distinctive anatomical details will reveal how at once it recalls the Dharmarājaratha or Arjunarātha (Pl. III a) at Mahābalipuram which is one of the most outstanding typical monoliths of Narasiṁhavarman's time. Thus here again there is an example of how quarrels of kings and their inroads into the territory of their neighbours have only culturally enriched them though politically they may have weakened their power. It should be mentioned here that the last Pallava king Aparājita was still fighting with the Pāṇḍyas and won a victory over Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya but was himself so weakened in this that he was finally overcome by the Chola king Āditya I.

And from this period onwards we get the early phase of Chola art which imbibes and gives in an enhanced degree of excellence the earlier traditions of the Pallavas and Pāṇḍyas with an admixture of Chāḷukya-Rāshṭrakūṭa ornamental element, a necessary outcome of the frequent quarrels with the Rāshṭrakūṭas specially under Kṛishṇa III who for a time even wrested the northern part of their kingdom newly expanded at the expense of that of the Pallavas ; and this triple stream of Pallava-Pāṇḍya-Chāḷukya culture accounts for the charming diction in art that is special to the Chola sculptor. The early Chola temples as for instance at Śrīnivāsanallūr, the Nāgeśvarasvāmi temple at Kumbakoṇam, the Aivar, Mūvar and other temples in the Kodumbāḷūr area are typical of this exquisite grace in early Chola workmanship.

A motif repeated.

To take an example of this sculptural flow of different streams and their commingling to make a motif almost universal. Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy in reviewing the book on the reliefs of Bādāmī by Mr. R. D. Banerji has drawn pointed attention to a motif which occurs in Bādāmī and Paṭṭaḍakal and many centuries later in Vijayanagar sculpture. It is really interesting to find the motif surviving through the centuries to reappear after the lapse of some hundreds of years. It may appear as if the Vijayanagar empire, which included the Canarese area as well, got this motif from Bādāmī direct, but is it really so? The occurrence of this motif some centuries before the Vijayanagar period and in the heart of the Tamil country gives us a curious narrative of the history of the migration of this theme. It occurs at Bādāmī, later in Paṭṭaḍakal (Pl. VII c), and occurs over and over

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again in early and late Chola sculpture and it again presents itself in the Vijayanagara period. We can then understand the source of the Vijayanagar sculptures in the case of this motif. It is a representation of a bull and elephant facing each other, the trunk of the one curling on the back of the other to form its hump, and the tusks serving the purpose of both horns and tusks, the face of the one commingling in the face of the other in such a manner that when the contours are separately taken they go to form individually the bull or the elephant. An excellent representation of the Chola period is from the Dārāsuram temple (Pl. VII b), where, near the entrance of the *nāṭyamaṇḍapa* this motif, though unobtrusively, compels attention, as a very interesting motif, showing what may be regarded as *ślesha* or pun, a figure of speech common in literature, but equally possible and with even greater grace in art as well. The immediate source for the Vijayanagar work is Chola though ultimately its introduction may be traced to the effects of Chāḷukya-Rāshṭrakūṭa-Chola inroads and counterattacks. And it has similarly travelled beyond India to Ceylon where Chola type of temples abound ; and it is unnecessary to add that South Indian culture was as freely transported to the island as the fighting forces of successive kings of all the dynasties of South India.

A visitor to Vijayavāda would occasionally find a huge big figure of Gaṇeśa in some part or other of the town, sometimes smeared with red paint or sometimes neglected. One of these is now in the Madras Museum. A fine specimen of similar type, a huge monolith, lying in the fields at Biccavolu in East Godāvarī district is particularly noteworthy (Pl. VII e). All these Gaṇeśas are of the Eastern Chāḷukya period and early specimens too. These may be compared with a fine miniature representation of Gaṇeśa in relief on the ring of a seal holding together a set of the Eastern Chāḷukya copper plates of Vijayāditya III from Sātalūr, Krishṇā district. In all these cases the elephant head of Gaṇeśa is extremely natural and the temples of the elephant very clear and prominent without any trace of a crown to obstruct it and the figure is more or less devoid of the many decorations in the shape of ornament that load it in later sculpture. This early Gaṇeśa is provided with only a single pair of arms and looks very simple and different from the elaborated four-armed later representations. And where should we turn for the source? Let us see at Bādāmī the home of Pulakeśi who conquered the eastern empire and established his dear brother Kubjavishṇuvardhana as the ruler of Veṅgi by wresting the northern dominions of the Pallavas. At the entrance of one of the caves at Bādāmī there is a panel depicting Śiva dancing and close to him there is Gaṇeśa (Pl. VII a). This Gaṇeśa has only a single pair of arms, has a very natural elephant's head with no crown to adorn it. He is as simple as the Gaṇeśas in the Eastern Chāḷukya kingdom. As is evident from the charters of Kubjavishṇuvardhana his love and respect for his brother was very great and his ideal was Pulakeśi and all the inspiration that he drew was from his homeland in the west and the traditions of the Western Chāḷukyas which he introduced in his newly acquired realm were continued by his descendants and that is why we find other Chāḷukya features in this area. Long after the cordial relationship between the two branches of the family had ceased, we still find that these motifs continue and the source of inspiration still respected culturally.

The monolithic *dvārapālakas* from Vijayavāḍa, one of them inscribed, now in the Madras Museum, are of the early Eastern Chāḷukya school, and as the inscription gives it, the sculptor was in the service of the Lord of Veṅgi (Pl. IX c). The *dvārapālas* wear, one

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of them, a garland of flowers as *yajñopavīta* (Text fig. 2), and the other, a long garland of bells. Both these are characteristic Chāḷukya features. In the case of some carvings in the Tamil country like those from Kāveripākkam such features may be observed (Text fig. 3). These naturally arouse interest. A pair of *dvārapālakas* from Kāveripākkam have the same kind of flower garland *yajñopavīta* (Pl. IX a and d). Another pair suggests *muktāyajñopavīta* a feature that has come down from the Sātavāhana period downwards continued by the Gupta-Vākātakas. This feature of flower garland *yajñopavīta* occurs in the case of other figures of deities in some early Choḷa specimens even, but this is all because of Chāḷukya-Rāshṭrakūṭa influence. In fact this type occurs even on the *dvārapālaka* in the Rājarājeśvara temple at Tanjore where as we can see the Chāḷukya type has been deliberately excelled at least in its spirited aggressive personality. When we remember that Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III actually was in possession of a portion of the Choḷa territory for twentyfive years and built temples here as at Kāveripākkam the explanation for this feature becomes at once obvious.

Text fig. 2 : *Dvārapāla from Vijayavāḍa, Madras Museum.*

Another feature to be noticed in the same pair of *dvārapālas* from Vijayavāḍa is that the lion-head as ornament has been utilised not only as we usually find on the clasp of the waist-band but also for the armlets (Text fig. 2). In some early Choḷa specimens where this Chāḷukya influence is obvious we find similar utilisation of the lion-head motif not only for the armlets and clasp of waist zone, which latter is more a regular feature in Choḷa rather than in Chāḷukya carvings where a central tassel is used, but also occurs on the coiffure or head-dress of the figure.

Along with features like some of these we find horns also for the *dvārapālas* from Kāveripākkam (Pl. IX a). These horns are a Pallava feature and the pearl decoration with small tassels and pendants at intervals for necklets and flower-garland or pearl-string *yajñopavīta* and lion-head clasp for the armlet are features reminiscent of Chāḷukya work (Text fig. 3). The happy idea of blending these features of the two schools was rendered possible as the sculptors accustomed to the Pallava idiom were made to satisfy also the taste of the Chāḷukya and Rāshṭrakūṭa patrons the most important among whom was Kṛishṇa III.

Text fig. 3 : *Dvārapāla from Kāveripākkam, Madras Museum.*

Similarly the very pleasing flower-decked *dhammilla* and *bhramarakas* for women in late Pallava and early Choḷa sculpture can be traced to the delightful types that occur very frequently in the Chāḷukya area and are a special characteristic. Such lovely *dhammillas* as we find illustrated in the slim and

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attractive female figures from the Nageśvarasvāmi temple, or as we find in the figure of Sītā from Vaḍakkupaṇayūr are clearly influenced by the charm of Chāḷukya *dhammilla*. It would not be out of place here to point to the lovely *dhammilla* of Pārvatī from the Umāmaheśvara group from Hemāvati, which is Noḷamba, a school that closely follows the Chāḷukya.

The Gaṇeśa from Bhumarā of the Gupta period now preserved in the Indian Museum is a fine specimen and wears a garland of bells as his *yajñopavīta* (Pl. VII d). This is very interesting. Already it has been pointed out that Gupta and Vākāṭaka features very often occur in Chāḷukya sculpture as the Chāḷukyas were the political successors of the Vākāṭakas in Northern Deccan. The Eastern Chāḷukya *dvārapālaka* from Vijayavāḍa described already has a similar garland of bells for his *yajñopavīta*. The Nandi bulls from the Chāḷukya area, as for instance from Vijayavāḍa or Hemāvati or from any place for the matter of that wear the garland of bells ; this may be observed in Aihoḷe or Paṭṭaḍakal as well, in Rājamundry or in Wārangal, in Halebīd (Pl. VII f) or Bellāry. Whether they are Noḷamba, or Kākatīya, Eastern or Western Chāḷukya, whether early or late, these traditions are always present. Similarly Gaṇeśas from Hemāvati like the one in the Madras Museum wear these bells, in the latter case on the feet, though the finest specimen of a Gaṇapati in India, the colossal one at Halebīd, has a fine garland of bells. And this is an interesting feature as the Hoysalas were originally feudatories of the Chāḷukyas and when they won their political independence they continued their cultural heritage got from their masters.

Now to take the horns of the *dvārapālaka* we do find them adorning the headgear of Pallava *dvārapālas* in the cave temples of Mahendravarman I but how did they come ? We have only to turn our eyes to earlier representations in the Bhairavunikoṇḍa cave temples at Nellore which are also Pallava but slightly earlier. The Pallavas who issued the Prākrit charters though ruling from Kāñchi had possessions extending up to the river Krishṇā and naturally the earlier caves were further north than those of Mahendravarman I who lost his northern possessions to the Western Chālukya king Pulakeśi who established his brother in this region and started the new line of Eastern Chāḷukyas. Again we have to only see the caves at Mogalrājapuram near Vijayavāḍa (Pl. IX b) to find how the Pallavas just about the time of Mahendravarman drew their inspiration for not only the horned *dvārapāla* but also the cave temple type itself. Professor Jouveau Dubreuil has shown the resemblance of the names Vikramendra and Mahendravikrama, and postulated a theory of relationship between the Vishṇukuṇḍins and the Pallavas, making Mahendravarman the daughter's son of the Vishṇukuṇḍin king Vikramendra, and has pointed out that being struck by the cave temples excavated by the Vishṇukuṇḍins in the Krishṇā region at Mogalrājapuram, he carried this idea first to Bhairavunikoṇḍa and finally, when deprived of the northern part of his kingdom, continued his architectural activity in the Tamil country, and his claim, therefore, for innovation of this new mode of excavating a temple in the living rock is perfectly justified. Dr. Dubreuil's suggestion is as pleasing as it is convincing. We can then trace back the origin of this cave type through the Vishṇukuṇḍins who were connected with the Vākāṭakas to the Vākāṭaka area too. But though this may have been the immediate source it cannot be forgotten that there are other early Buddhist caves in the Krishṇā region as at Guṇṭupalli or even at Vijayavāḍa itself. When we continue this history of the motif of the horns in still later period we find it slowly transforming itself into something less conspicuous and appearing in the Choḷa period as a *triśūla* over the crown of the *dvārapāla* (Pl. XI a).

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Now this leads on to an extremely interesting bronze of about the 12th century A.D., now preserved in the Madras Museum representing *sudarśana* and *gadā* with the weapons indicated on the crown like the *triśūla* on the head of the *dvārapāla*. These are *āyudha-purushas* personified. While *sudarśana* is represented against a wheel in anthropomorphic form usually in North Indian sculpture there is also a tradition of representing a small wheel on the crown of the figure of which a fine example of the Gupta period may be seen in the Śeshaśāyi panel at Deogarh (Pl. XI b). In far off Java, in an utterly different context and in Buddhist sculpture representing the story of Mitravindaka, a wheel on the head of the Bodhisattva is shown exactly as in the case of the *sudarśana* just mentioned (Pl. XI c). The occurrence in Choḷa sculpture of a *sudarśana* figure of this type with also the additional feature in conformity with its date, of the wheel being shown flat and not on edge as in an earlier stage makes us wonder at the persistence of some of these cultural traditions.

Anyone who visits Haḷebiḍ or Belūr must be struck by the extraordinary beauty and grace of the bracket figures from the pillars of the temple representing *madanakais* (Pl. X c). Some of them are *nāyikās* and other *sālabhañjikas, kirātīs* and other types most beautifully executed in graceful poses. It is these figures that add charm to the temple. But how were they conceived? We have to turn from the Hoysaḷa period, when Vishṇu-varddhana who was converted by Rāmānuja, with the zeal of a convert, lavished his wealth and taste in creating these abodes of God to create wonder not only to the humans but also to the celestials, and see the earlier Chālukya temples as for instance that magnificent edifice at Kuruvaṭṭi near Bellary dedicated to Mallikārjuna which has some of the most splendid examples of richly carved figure brackets (Pl. X a) and we should trace back further to Bādāmī itself where some of the earlier Chāḷukya examples of bracket figures of *sālabhañjikās* and *mithunas* please the discerning eye (Pl. X b). During the period of the Chāḷukya-Rāshṭrakūṭa feuds with the Choḷas, one of the cultural fruits gained by the Choḷas was this pleasing motif of bracket figures which we find used in some of their temples.

Among the many sculptures from Kāveripākkam in the Madras Museum there are two lovely ones that represent *śaṅkha* and *padma nidhis*. They are shown as two small dwarfs, one with a lotus and the other with a conch, from which a stream of coins is shown oozing out. In Chāḷukya temples, as for instance at Aihoḷe, the doorway is flanked by these representations of *nidhis* that recall Kālidāsa's line *dvāropānte likhitavapushau śaṅkhapadmau cha dṛishṭvā* (*Meghadūta* ii, 19). This feature is not found in the case of any early Pallava shrine. But in many of the Choḷa temples this feature is often met with. What is the reason? It appears that this feature introduced by Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III in his temples at Kāveripākkam was later on adopted in many other Choḷa temples as at Dārāsuram (Pl. VIII a and c) and thus it is no strange thing that we find *śankha* and *padma nidhis* guarding the entrance of the *gopura* of even the great tower of Kumbheśvara in Kumbakonam.

A motif with significance

In the representation of Dakshiṇāmūrti from Kāveripākkam at the feet of seated Śiva who is shown as a teacher engrossed in his exposition of the eternal truth a snake and a pair of deer are shown (Pl. VIII d). It may be wondered what may be the purpose of this portrayal. The significance of this is that in the presence of great spiritual power and universal love of which the Lord is the embodiment there can be no such thing as enmity

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or hatred and even those that are by nature inimical behave as friends. In the eyes of a *yogi* like Śiva the opposites are just parallels and equals. Does he not wear ambrosial moon and swallow poison, carry fire and wear the cool Ganges bottled up in his bundle of matted hair? Every saint is a bundle of inconsistencies in the eyes of common man but in the higher and spiritual plane he feels everything alike. He cannot think in terms of any distinction. The presence of deer, the innocent of animals and the snake, the most venomous, one that you love and the other that you dread, together without any one of either feeling perturbed, suggests the divine personality that commands and compels this attitude. But is this sculpture a novel one or has it some precedent? Is it an original thought or is it an adaptation from somewhere else? Now, it is interesting to see that from similar context but from a different scene this has been borrowed. At Deogarh there is a panel adorning the Gupta temple representing Naranārāyaṇa (Pl. VIII e). Here Nara and Nārāyana are represented as sages wearing *krishṇājina* and matted hair and at the feet of Nārāyaṇa the pair of deer and snake are represented as they fit in equally well in this context. The calm and peaceful atmosphere of *āśrama* of sages, divine sages, is more than graphically presented by this device of harmony of opposites, deer and snake. And what may be the source of this? The deer flanking the *dharmachakra* suggesting the first sermon of Buddha, is shown in every panel representing this scene just below the figure of Buddha near his feet (Pl. VIII f). The idea here is that Buddha is as much a sage and teacher, Śākyamuni; and as such in his presence even the opposites come together. It is the same in the case of Śāntinātha whose name is very suggestive (Pl. VIII b). So this idea which we find in early Indian sculpture is continued till the Pallava and early Choḷa period and introduced in appropriate context to suggest the presence of a personality of peace.

The charm that makes one repeat it

On the top of the Dārāsuram temple in the first tier of the *vimāna* is repeated a small entrance corresponding to the one down below which leads one to a small *maṇḍapa* at the extreme end of which there are niches belonging to the central *vimāna* with several images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā. In fact these figures of personified rivers are repeated on either side even at the very entrance of the *maṇḍapa.* The figures are extremely graceful and are quite different from the usual type of representations of rivers flanking doorways (Fig. XII b). Though everywhere in North India Gaṅgā and Yamunā are shown on their respective vehicles in full human form in Gupta and in mediaeval sculpture, this motif in South India is somewhat different as it is the Gaṅgā motif repeated on either side with this modification that the *sālabhañjikā* theme is incorporated in it and the *sāl* bough is converted into a creeper that entwines many medallions which run in a series up to the lintel and encircles small carvings of diverse figures. We may here recall that in Sātavāhana sculpture of the 2nd century A.D., from Amarāvatī this motif occurs in exactly similar fashion as two river goddesses, both on *makara,* flanking a Nāga. Here however the *sālabhañjikā* theme has not been brought in and this admixture is in the mediaeval period. The distinctive vehicles, crocodile and tortoise, for Gaṅgā and Yamunā, are avoided on the doorjambs of the South Indian temples and the crocodile alone is preferred for suggesting Gaṅgā. But the representations of river goddesses just mentioned at Dārāsuram are entirely different from these or even from the other repesentations from Northern India. How should we account for these?

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Up to the waist the figures are human and below that the form is like that of a mermaid or Nāgī with this distinction that there are no snake hoods that distinguish them and the lower portion shows a special series of wavy lines that have no meaning in the case of a Nāgī but are full of significance to suggest the wavy surface of deep water; and according to the iconographic canons they carry a vessel of water. Now how did the sculptor think of this? If we study this a little carefully we can see why it is so represented. Anyone who has visited the temples at Bhuvaneśvar, specially the Mukteśvar, is bound to be struck by the similarity of these river carvings and Nāgī figures entwining the pillars and pilasters (Pl. XII c) all along the temple if we leave the snake hood canopy out of account. It may be said that the Nāgīs in the Arjuna penance group at Mahābalipuram are not very different and they may be the source or it may be argued that Gaṅgā on the locks of Śiva is always represented in sculpture as a mermaid as we find not only in Pallava and Chola sculpture but even in Maitraka sculpture from Elephanta. But still when one sees the Nāgī figures flanking the entrance on pillars in the Rājārāṇī temple it is impossible not to feel striking similarity between these and the river figures at Dārāsuram. It cannot be imagined that the several military expeditions have not given the Chola kings and their men opportunity to study the wonderful treasures of Kaliṅga art. We know that Rājendra was so impressed with Kaliṅga workmanship that he brought some images of this school to his own realm as mementos of his expedition and one such is the Gaṇeśa figure enshrined in the Nageśvarasvāmi temple in Kumbakoṇam which is even now called Gaṅgagaṇapati by a forgetful posterity that associates with it a miracle of producing Ganges water in a neighbouring well for the sacred bath of the deity in the sanctum, being oblivious of the significance of the term Gaṅga in the case of *Gaṅgaikoṇḍa* who got both the water of the Ganges and overcame the Gaṅgas. It cannot be that the Chola monarchs who led successive expeditions in the Kaliṅga area had not spent some time in admiration of the figures of the Nāgīs of the Mukteśvara temple, nor can it be asserted that they did not want this form specially to be repeated at least as an adaptation in the case of Gaṅgā where already the mermaid form was known but only indicated in the case of Gaṅgādhara panels or on the swirling *jaṭās* of *Naṭarāja*. The resemblance is indeed remarkable and not by accident. There seems to be deliberate intention.

We may now look again at another motif on the balustrade towards one end of the steps leading to one of the *maṇḍapas* to the back of the central shrine at Dārāsuram. It represents a lion springing on an elephant that is lying prostrate at its feet (Pl. XII d). This motif which is known as *gaja virāla* is of frequent occurrence in Pāla (Pl. XII e) and Kaliṅga sculpture; and one who knows and remembers the frequent wars between the Cholas and the Kaliṅgas cannot possibly miss this coincidence and fail to understand the source of inspiration.

There is another point that strikes the eye of anyone who visits the temple at Dārāsuram and at Chidambaram. The *maṇḍapa* is peculiarly rich in beautifully carved pillars, but what is more, there is a wheel added on either side with artistic spokes and other ornamental decoration, and galloping horses with fine trappings are added in front of these wheels so that the *vimāna* looks as if it is drawn by these steeds (Pl. XIII b). Against the balustrade for the steps leading to the *maṇḍapa* are elephants carved in large proportions as if in the act of running and worked in very natural fashion. It is interesting to keep this in mind when we see that world-famed monument at Koṇārak, the temple of

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the Sun god (Pl. XIII a). Here the number of wheels and horses suggesting the whole temple as a car being drawn by them and as if in motion is indeed a grand sight. The twelve wheels on either side making up twentyfour to suggest the months and fortnights and the seven horses yoked to the celestial car have all undoubtedly their own significance. But how did this idea originate? The Sun god is no doubt always represented in sculpture as riding a car drawn by seven horses but the whole temple conceived as a car and drawn by horses is never met with anywhere in North India. Even in South India the earlier temples never suggest any such *ratha*. But the temple itself is known as the *vimāna* and it has happily suggested itself to one of those ingenious sculptors of the Cholas that it is just possible to convert the *vimāna* into a *ratha* by the addition of wheels; and the first experiment appears to be in temples like the one at Dārāsuram and Chidambaram. When we remember that the Koṇārak temple was built by Narasiṁha, descended from Anatavarma-chodagaṅga, who combined in himself Gaṅga and Chola blood, owing to the Chola alliance by the marriage of Rājasundarī in the Gaṅga family, it is not difficult to account for the presence of this feature in Koṇārak in the 13th century, as the earlier Chola architecture should have struck the artistic minded Kaliṅga Ganga kings, and a leaf from the sculptor's book from the realm of the maternal grandfather should have been most welcome and with pride. But the exuberance of exquisite intricate carving on the spokes of the wheels and the hub and the rim and the delicate patterns incised on the trappings of the horses are all a matter of elaboration of decorative element in which the Kaliṅga sculptor like the Chāḷukya excels. But the source of this happy idea of wheel and horse added to a *vimāna* or *maṇḍapa* is peculiarly Chola. The moṅolithic *rathas* of the Vijayanagar period of a somewhat miniature size as at Hampi and Tāḍpatri are but later developments of this new innovation in Chola architecture. The simpler thing in Chola architecture introduced just as a suggestive decorative element to convert a simple *vimāna* into a wheeled *ratha* has therefore been very cleverly utilised and elaborated in an imposing structure and so appropriately in turning the temple of the Sun god into a chariot that this is probably better known and its simpler source totally obscured. The temple at Dārāsuram is one of the most lovely among Chola structures and is well worth a study to observe the interplay of themes and motifs from here and on to here to and from different areas respectively owing to the constant expeditions led by the Cholas and on them by their adversaries. One cannot but be struck by the Chāḷukya influence subtly blended in Chola workmanship to make up the ornamental pillars and the ceiling decoration in the *maṇḍapa* (Pl. XVII a).

In another temple of about the same time at Tribhuvanam there are two lovely figures of *sālabhañjikās* at the entrance to the Śarabha shrine, one of them (Pl. XII a) standing against the tree with one leg bent in a manner that reminds us of an exactly similar type that occurs in early Chāḷukya sculpture at Bādāmi in an almost identical theme which again is inspired by a charming painting from Ajaṇtā showing a damsel in a harem leaning against a pillar in exactly similar attitude (Text fig. 4 b); and this can again be compared with a carving of a lady in just the reversed pose from Sātavāhana sculpture from Amarāvatī (Text fig. 4 a). It only shows how a charming subject cannot but be repeated, and it survives, thanks to the chisel and brush of the sculptor and painter respectively, through centuries, long after different dynasties that conceived and executed it had risen to glory and perished to be utterly lost in oblivion or even sometimes to rise again and renew their acquaintance with a great theme their ancestors prided in. These sculp-

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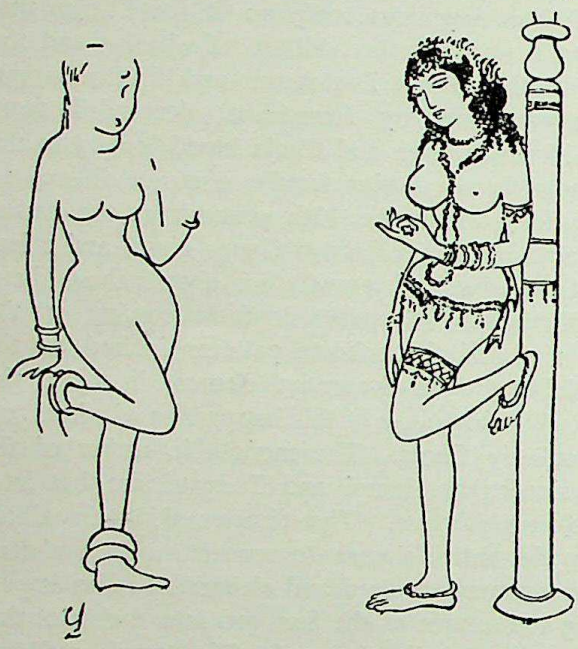
tures at Tribhuvanam look very different from the other carvings around them and compel attention as they are more decorative and show greater traces of Chāḷukya influence. And for this we have ample evidence. This was the time when the Choḷas and the Chāḷukyas were always at daggers drawn. Rājendra's great conquest in Kalyāṇapura, the capital of the later Chāḷukyas was mainly through the efforts of Rājādhirāja and a *dvārapālaka* in the Chāḷukya style of workmanship brought as war trophy from Kalyāṇ and found in the temple at Dārāsuram clearly confirms the conquest by the inscription on its pedestal which says that it was brought as war trophy by *Vijayarājendra,* a title that the prince assumed on his victory. A look at this *dvārapālaka* (Pl. XIV a) which is certainly of excellent workmanship and at the *dvārapālakas* at the Rājarajeśvara temple at Tānjore and at the temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram (Pl. XIV c) would at once show how well the Choḷas could appreciate good work and exert their sculptors to give it a spirit of valour and aggressive warriorhood and at the same time improve the theme by modifying details to make it grander, nobler and strike terror. Victory was the keynote of both Rājarāja and Rājendra. Theirs was the grand style, their figures imposing. Never were the *dvārapālakas* more colossal and never were they more fierce. The Choḷa line being fierce was unapproachable and the might of this aggressive power is obvious and almost eloquently put by the sculptor in the form of fierce *dvārapālakas* that breathe as it were, in their fiery countenance, terrifying *tarjanī* and wonder-striking *vismaya* hand and reassuring protective *abhaya* palm, strange combination of royal aggression and protection, creating in the mind of the visitor a terror to approach, but a final confidence, leading him on to enter the portals. Even the club of the *dvārapāla* is significant. A huge snake is shown swallowing a mighty elephant or disgorging it while a lion trampled under foot by the *dvārapāla* is another foe from which the elephant has equally to escape (Pl. XIV b). This is the power of a lion and the power of a *nāga* meaning both elephant and the swallower of the elephant the mighty snake *nāga.* Compare with this the beautiful but comparatively tame representation of the *dvārapāla* brought from Kalyāṇi as war trophy by the successful Choḷa from the defeated Chāḷukya where a snake swallows just a rat and a cat close by pounces on another rat while a huge loathsome lizard appears on the club. This is an explanation or rather the Choḷa sculptor's artistic expression of the wars of the Choḷa and his triumph over other powers resulting in his final overthrow of their power.



Text fig. 4 : *Woman resting on one leg— a, Amarāvatī ; b, Ajaṇṭā.*

A great victor's appreciative innovations

To understand fully many elements in those two great edifices raised by the two great titanic figures that dominate Choḷa history, Rājarāja and Rājendra, it is essential that we

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should consider a brief account as historical background on which the picture of Chola art is set for proper understanding of details. Vijayālaya in the 9th century A.D., was the first ruler of this line to carve out a small kingdom which developed into a gigantic empire under his successors. In the time of Āditya and Parāntaka, the son and grandson respectively of Vijayālaya, there was a great temple-building activity, and the latter who was greatly devoted to Śiva at Chidambaram covered the temple with gold. Parāntaka ruled for fortyfive years and extended his dominion by conquest, bearing heroic titles like *Vīrasolan, Samarakesari.* As the conqueror of the Pāṇdyas and of Ceylon he was styled *Maduraiyum īḷamum koṇḍa* i.e., one who captured Madura and Ceylon. A great scholar and patron of literature that he was is suggested by his title *Paṇḍitavatsala.* He had sons who inherited his great qualities but they were unfortunately short-lived. His eldest son Rājāditya who almost defeated his powerful opponent the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kaṇṇaradeva (Krishṇa III) died on the battlefield on his elephant just at the moment of victory wounded by Būtuga, Krishṇa's ally. His younger brother Gaṇḍarāditya was a pious king and author of *Tiruviśaippā,* a hymn on the Chidambaram temple wherein there is mention of how his father covered the temple of Naṭarāja with gold. The queen of Gaṇḍarāditya who was widowed early with a little child in her arms was the most pious that we know in history and was highly honoured and respected by successive kings on the Chola throne during her lifetime and later, and probably was one of the most remarkable queens in the family whose generous tradition of building and endowing temples accounts for many other princesses of the line like Kundavai following her footsteps. This was a weak period in Chola history when Krishṇa III asserted his power in Toṇḍamaṇḍalm and the infant son of Gaṇḍarāditya not being deemed fit to ascend the throne at that tender age, Ariñjaya the younger brother of Gaṇḍaraditya succeeded him but alas! Ariñjaya also, the warrior that he was, very soon followed his brothers to heaven having lost his life on the battlefield at Ārrūr in trying to retrieve the fortunes of his family in an attempt at regaining Chola territory in the north lost to Krishṇa III. His son Sundara Chola who succeeded him was a great warrior and a great ruler being considered the one king in the Chola line who was a second Manu born to wean the world from days of evil. He was a great patron of literature both Sanskrit and Tamil. Unfortunately his last days were clouded by the sad assassination of his warlike eldest son Āditya. Rājarāja was now a youth accomplished and powerful, but the noble prince that he was, Rājarāja, though desired by his subjects, refused to ascend the throne when his uncle Uttamachola, the son of Gaṇḍarāditya, now quite grown up, longed for it. The forbearance of Rājarāja should not be taken as any weakness, for he was the most powerful king of the Chola line when he succeeded Uttama. It was in his anxiety to avoid civil war that he chose to be the heir apparent while Uttama ruled.

Rājarāja who is known as Rājakesari Arumoḷivarman was a remarkable ruler and probably the greatest of the Chola emperors. His military triumph, organisation in the empire, patronage of art and literature, and religious tolerance are probably only partially eclipsed by the unparalleled military genius of his greater son Rājendra. Rājarāja who came to the throne when his kingdom had just recovered from the onslaught of the Rāshṭrakūṭas started his reign with military campaigns to strengthen his position. He brought low the Keraḷas, Pāṇḍyas and the Simhalas, overcame the western hilly tracts, Mysore, Gaṅgavāḍi, Noḷambavāḍi, and overcame the Chāḷukya king Satyāśraya, and a large treasure captured from that monarch was utilised for the enrichment of the temple at Tānjore.

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Rājarāja had a hand in Eastern Chāḷukya affairs and restored one branch by overcoming another. As a sagacious conqueror Rājarāja gave his daughter Kundavai in marriage to Vimalāditya, whose elder brother Śaktivarman was under his protection. He sent his son Rājendra to Kaliṅga and established a pillar of victory on the Mahendra mountain. With his mighty navy he conquered the Maldives, a number of islands on the sea, and crippled the naval power of the Cheras. His navy greatly helped him in the conquest of Ceylon. In his lifetime Rājendra was made heir apparent and succeeded his father two years later. In the twentyfifth year of his reign the great and magnificent temple of Śiva named after the king Rājarājeśvaramuḍaiyār was completed, and a copper *kalaśa* thickly gilt with gold was dedicated to adorn the finial of the *vimāna*. Himself a great devotee of Śiva he was very tolerant in religious matters and his munificent gifts to the Buddhist Chūḍāmaṇivihāra in Nāgapaṭṭiṇam built by the Śailendra king Māravijayottuṅgavarman is most revealing. A great diplomat and statesman he was on very friendly terms with foreign powers like the lord of Śrīvishaya which intensified great trade intercourse between India and the islands of the Archipelago ; and the Chinese annals record a mission from Rājarāja's kingdom in about 1015 A.D. There were two more similar missions to China during the time of Rājendra and Kulottuṅga. Rājarāja's intense devotion to Śiva is evidenced in one of his many titles *Śivapādaśekhara* and his great taste for fine arts is evident in another title of his *Nityavinoda,* both of which recall earlier Pallava ideology as contained in lines like *abhishekajalāpūrṇe chitraratnāmbujākare āste viśāle sumukhaś śirassarasi śaṅkarah* and *Nityotsāha* and *Lalitāṅkura.* The long series of inscriptions of Rājarāja from the plinth of the temple at Tanjore constitute a valuable record of history and give us an idea of the emperor's personality, influence, power, liberality and greatly enlighten us regarding the economic, political and social condition about the period.

Rājarāja's son Rājendra was undoubtedly the most remarkable ruler of this line. Even as a prince he had distinguished himself and he began his career with a campaign of victorious expedition to add to the large empire his father left for him. He reasserted his power in Ceylon, Chera and Pāṇḍya countries, Vanavāsi, overcame the Chāḷukya power under Jayasiṁha, and brought Raṭṭapādi under his sway. He then turned his eyes to the north in his desire to overcome the kings over there and bring the water of the sacred river Ganges to his land by the might of his arm as Bhagīratha had done before by his penance. In less than two years Rājendra was successful in overcoming Eastern Chāḷukya territory, Kaliṅga, Dakshiṇa Kosala, Bengal, Bihār and Kanauj and overcame the powerful Pāla king Mahīpāla. On his return from this glorious expedition he erected a liquid pillar of victory *jalamayastambha* in his new capital at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram to celebrate his triumph ; and the waters of the Ganges in this tank gave it the title Cholagaṅga. This great irrigation tank which is now practically in ruins is still to be seen at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram where he also erected a great temple for Śiva as a thanksgiving. Pots of Ganges water brought on elephants by the vassal kings were the only tribute that Rājendra desired in recognition of his sovereignty. Even today the numerous *Gaṅgaramaṇḍapas* all over South India suggest only a corruption of the term *Gaṅgaikoṇḍamaṇḍapa* where the pots filled with Ganges water were received temporarily at stages on their way to the Choḷa capital named after the great king who brought the Ganges, *Gaṅgaikoṇḍa.* Rājendra was more proud of this triumph than even his later overseas conquest and his title *Gaṅgaikoṇḍa* is probably the best known and most valued, as we can see from his gold coins bearing the

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legend *Gaṅgaikoṇḍa* issued to commemorate this great achievement; and his new capital was named Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram as an everlasting memento of his bringing the Ganges home.

Though the reasons for the war are not clear Rājendra now utilised his mighty navy for attacking and subduing the Śailendra king Sangrāmavijayottuṅgavarman. A number of place names mentioned in his inscriptions have now been understood as connoting places mostly in Malaya Peninsula and generally in the empire of Śrīvijaya. His conquest of Malaya and the empire of the Śailendras which included most of South East Asia including the number of islands in the Eastern Archipelago, in addition to his conquest of Ceylon, Laccadives and Maldives and other similar islands clearly proves the high efficiency of his naval power which has since never been paralleled. The flourishing state of trade during his time is evidenced by the intercourse of South India with distant islands including China and the embassy during his time is another proof of it. Rājendra was almost from the very beginning of his reign assisted by his able sons who were entrusted with an important part of the administration of his vast empire and took part in his victorious conquest. His son Rājādhirāja was a mighty warrior who later died on the battlefield and was succeeded by his younger brother who crowned himself on the very battlefield and turned what appeared almost a defeat into a brilliant victory. Rājendra's great conquest in Kalyāṇapura, the capital of the Chāḷukyas was mainly through the efforts of Rājādhirāja and a *dvārapālaka* in the Chāḷukya style of workmanship brought as war trophy from Kalyāṇ clearly confirms the conquest by the inscription on its pedestal which says that it was brought as war trophy by Vijayarājendra, a title that was assumed by him on his victory. Rājendra's great scholarship and literary appreciation has earned for him the title *Paṇḍitacholа*. Following the footsteps of his far-sighted father he arranged a similar diplomatic marriage by giving his daughter Ammaṅgādevī to the Eastern Chāḷukya king Rājarāja, his own nephew, and a child born of this marriage was the great Rājendracholа Kulottuṅga who combined the Chāḷukya and Choḷa kingdom when he later succeeded to the throne of his maternal ancestors. Kulottuṅga's contest with Rājarāja the Kaliṅga king also resulted in matrimorial alliance by which Rajasundarī was made a Kaliṅga queen and the son born of her prided in his ancestry on his mother's side as much if not more than his own paternal. This is clear in the name of Anantavarma-chodagaṅgadeva one of the best known and longlived monarchs of the Gaṅga line. His descendant Narasiṁha built the famous Koṇārak temple in the 13th century.

The temple of Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram is itself a mute historical record. If carefully studied it reveals to us several important points which explain the presence of certain uncommon features which almost as it were serve as a commentary to the information gathered from the inscriptions and in a very interesting manner corroborate statements contained therein. It therefore becomes fascinating study to guess why these peculiarities occur. To take an example; when going round the temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram, among the several figures in their respective niches, as we would expect to find them, there is on the north, in the neighbourhood of Mahishamardinī Durgā, Brahmā standing in his niche right above the huge water spout *gomukha*. He is attended by Sāvitrī and Sarasvatī on either side of him. While usually Brahmā is represented all over in South India as a youthful *deva* (Pl. XV b) he is here shown wearing a beard a feature that is most uncommon in sculpture in the Tamil area (Pl XV a). Even in the case of Agni, as in the case of Brahmā,

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beard and moustaches and a paunch are usually features observed in North Indian mediaeval sculpture. These characteristics recall such epithets as *Pitāmaha* for Brahmā and *Purohita* and *Hotā* for Agni. But in the case of both the youthful representation is always preferred and followed in Tamil sculpture. Some of the finest representations of Agni are of the early Chola period where he is shown as a slim youthful figure with a crown of flames. Similarly Brahmā is usually every inch a youthful *deva*. In Chāḷukya sculpture however where northern features often occur along with southern ones there are representations of Brahmā with a flowing beard. The occurrence of the bearded type of Brahmā at Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-cholapuram shows that the emperor was struck by this type when he saw it in the kingdoms he vanquished; and he has sought to introduce it with even more grace than he had seen elsewhere in the mighty edifice that he raised. This accounts for this Brahmā and suggests the deep effect of the marches of the emperor in northern Deccan and further north.

In the same temple there is a peculiar Navagraha carving which is a great gem of art (Pl XV c). This is also a piece of enigma. Rājendra was profoundly influenced by what he saw in North India during the *Gaṅgaikoṇḍa* expedition. A separate temple for Sūrya in South India is very rare though there are several early images of his as adjuncts to the principal deity in several temples. The idea of installing Sūrya in a separate temple is only from this period onwards in this area. And the result is we have the famous Sūrya temple in Sūryanārkoil in Tānjore district built by Kulottuṅga I and named after him Kulottuṅgacholamārtāṇḍālayam. The great zeal for Sūrya worship of Prabhākaravardhana and the *Sūryaśataka* by Mayūra composed during the time of Harshavardhana is so obvious in this period that the *Sūryaśataka* was engraved on the pillars of a *maṇḍapa* for Sūrya erected in the early Chola period in Kāñchīpuram of which all that remains is a broken pillar with verses from this *stotra* engraved in Grantha letters of the 11th century A.D. The fragmentary Gāhaḍavāla inscription at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram is a pointer to the northern influence as the Gāhadavālas were Sun worshippers. This sculpture of Sūrya is an adaptation of North Indian forms of icon in South Indian arrangement with an ingenious adaptation to suit South Indian genius. As we can judge from the bronzes in the Sūryanārkoil temple some of the *grahas* like Soma, Aṅgāraka, Budha, Bṛihaspati, and Śanaiśchara, have four arms each while the rest have a single pair of arms. On the other hand all the *grahas* in North Indian sculpture are provided only with a single pair of arms. While in South India the *grahas* are arranged in different directions, each facing a totally different direction from the others, justifying almost the humorous remark in the verse *sadā vakras sadā krūras sadā pūjām apekshate kanyārāśigato nityam jāmātā daśamo grahaḥ,* the planets in North Indian sculpture are always in a line, with the Sun as the first leading the rest. In South Indian sculpture, however, Sūrya dominates all the *grahas* in a different way by being placed in the centre of the *Navagrahamaṇḍala.* So, it is a *Navagrahamaṇḍala* in South India while it is a *Navagrahapaṅkti* in North India and the latter are usually found on door lintels while they are never shown like that in the south being provided a separate place of worship within the precincts of the temple. Now in this sculpture the *grahas* are all shown with a single pair of arms but all of them are beautiful and youthful and seated including Rāhu who in North Indian sculpture is shown as a huge monster with rolling eyes, open mouth, grizzly hair, his hands in the act of conveying the Sun and Moon to his mouth for devouring them. A single pair of arms for every one of the *grahas* is no doubt a North Indian feature but their position in different directions is South Indian. But the Sun god is not depicted in the usual dominating fashion as a figure standing out in larger proportions than the rest in

the centre. The sculptor here has thought of a more ingenious method and still Sūrya dominates the whole group though in a different way. The whole slab is conceived as a *ratha* with wheels supporting the body of the car on either side and horses, seven of them, galloping in the front. The eight *grahas* face the eight directions and in the centre there is a huge big lotus with beautiful petals all shown in full bloom to symbolise the presence of Sūrya whose rays as he rises open the sleeping lotus early in the morning. This sculpture is a magnificent one both from the view of conception, art lavished on it, and also for the ingenious combination of North and South Indian elements to create this fascinating piece of sculpture.

To understand this *navagraha* slab fully it requires a study of some special carvings from North India of the Gupta and early mediaeval period depicting the *grahas* or planets. One of the most important sculptures in the Gwalior Museum is a Gupta lion capital very similar to the Aśokan ones but with a distinct feature on its abacus showing the *grahas* or planets seated with the different *rāśis* or signs of the zodiac portrayed between them. As may be seen from the photos (Pl. XVI a and b) the *rāśis*—Mithuna, Karkaṭa and Siṁha—are shown, the first as a couple, the second personified in human form with the crab in the place of the head, and the third also similarly with a leonine head, with seated planets between them, and this is indeed most interesting. In this arrangement though the North Indian style of a single pair of arms for the *grahas* and the presentation in a row is maintained there is, however, a different direction for each one of the planets as they all go on the edge of the circular abacus. In another carving of early mdieaval date in the same Museum (Pl. XVI c) eight *grahas* are shown in a row above in front of a blooming lotus intended to suggest the sun who is also represented in his anthropomorphic form in a niche just below the row of *grahas*. The influence of this novel mode of representation of planets and signs of zodiac is seen centuries later in a carving of the Kākatīya period now preserved in the Hyderabad Museum (Pl. XVI d) wherein Sūrya as usual is suggested by the lotus medallion around which the twelve *rāsis* are represented and below on the sides the *dikpālas* are shown on their respective *vāhanas* and lower down the seven horses of the sun galloping on one side of the square base of the sculpture.

This helps us to understand the blooming lotus, the galloping horses and the *grahas* or the planets arranged all round in a circular fashion with the sun dominating over all through the lotus which symbolises him as we see in the Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram sculpture. These influences have been profound, the earlier influence being seen in the brilliant creation of the Chola sculptor of Rājendra and the influence of this as well as the earlier ones in the sculpture of the Kākatīya period.

In the smaller shrine to the north of the temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram the bull facing the shrine is very peculiar and can be at once singled out as something very different from the usual type that occurs in the Tamil country; and what is this? The peculiar shape of the bull and the large garland of bells on its neck which flows down and spreads itself on the floor in front of the seated animal (Pl. XVIII b) makes us at once recall similar figures from the Chāḷukya area specially Eastern Chāḷukya (Pl. XVIII a). Anyone who has visited Vijayavāḍa cannot miss seeing a few carvings of bulls of this type; there is one right in the middle of the flowing stream of the Krishṇā canal where from among many of the Chāḷukya sculptures lying strewn in different parts of the town some were selected and fixed in different places by the P.W.D., one of them in the canal itself. The feuds of

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the Choḷas with the Chāḷukyas and also their alliances by marriage resulting in the birth of successive grandsons through daughters of the Choḷa emperors and finally one of them combining the empire of the Choḷas with his own ancestral kingdom are well known. Rājendra Choḷa Kulottuṅga, the grandson of Rājendra I, was a darling in his grandfather's court. His father Rājarāja appears to have spent some time in his father-in-law's court which was the same as his maternal uncle's as he was just his sister's son and grandson of Rājarāja the great. This alliance between the Chāḷukyas and Choḷas did not stop as we can see from this instance with mere claim of suzerainty or relationship. The appreciation of art from the area where his forces were victorious is obvious by the presence of this bull in this great Choḷa monument. Surely Rājendra appreciated the art of the Eastern Chāḷukyas and specially the fine type of bull, as he appreciated the *dvārapālaka* brought as war trophy from Kalyāṇ the capital of the Western Chāḷukyas and this was duly installed here.

Among the great conquests of Rājarāja and Rājendra the triumph at Noḷambavādi is an important one. Along with the conquest of Raṭṭapāḍi and Taḍigappāḍi that of Noḷambavāḍi is mentioned in the inscriptions. But there is a more interesting version of this Choḷa conquest of Noḷambavādi. A fragment of polished greenish blue pillar near a small well near the cloister to the south of the courtyard and another cubical piece of carved pillar of the same tinge lying near the Devī shrine in the Rājarājeṣvara temple may be noted in the first instance. And then we may turn our eyes to a series of pillars at Tiruvaiyār ; here in the small temple known as Dakshiṇakailāsa just on one side of the main shrine, where it is believed saint Appar had a vision of Śiva, there is an inscription of Rājendra of some length on the base as also his seal legend *rājadrājanyamukuṭaśreṇiratneshu śāsanam / etad rājendracholasya parakesarivarmaṇaḥ //*, and there is a whole row of pillars in green basalt with delicate carving, all of the Noḷamba school (Pl. XVII b). They number fortyfour in all and support the cloister all around this temple suggesting a fine commentary of war trophy on the conquest of Noḷambavādi mentioned in the Choḷa inscriptions. One has only to turn his eyes to the very lovely but very little known school of Noḷamba sculpture adorning the fine temples that lie utterly neglected in the once flourishing but now almost inaccessible hamlet of Hemāvatī in the Anantapūr district where a Tamil inscription of Rājendra in Canarese area acts as a second line of commentary. Some fine specimens of this school are now housed in the Madras Museum and even a casual look at them would certainly make any one feel that Rājendra could not but have been struck by the beauty of workmanship and delicacy of carving of the Noḷamba school; and it is no wonder he has taken the trouble to bring so many carved pillars to be utilised to beautify his constructions. We have no account of how many such pieces he may have brought, as some still lie strewn about, as in the courtyard of the Rājarājeśvara temple.

The Gaṇeśa of the type usually met with in Kaliṅga in the 9th-10th centuries installed in a special cell very near the central shrine in the Nāgeśvarasvāmi temple (Pl. XVIII d) is another commentary on the Kaliṅga conquest of Rājendra. Among the bronzes in this temple there is one of a small Gaṇeśa which recalls Kaliṅga workmanship or at any rate it is done by a South Indian *sthapati* with the Kaliṅga figure as his model. This Gaṇapati like the *dvārapāla* from Kalyāṇ is a war trophy that has been given an honoured place in one of the important temples of Kumbakoṇam.

A visitor to the temple at Tiruvottiyūr in the vicinity of Madras may see in a small cell towards the southern end of the main shrine in the courtyard a seated figure of a deity with

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a rod in his hand and miniature figures of disciples near him. The figure is of beautiful early Choḷa workmanship. On interrogation the visitor will learn that it is a figure of Gaulīśvara ; but not knowing what this may mean many probably still wonder what form it represents. But the real explanation of this figure lies in the Ganges expedition of Rājendra. It is well known that Rājarāja and Rājendra were great *Śivabhaktas*. And they invited a number of Śivāchāryas and Śaiva families from the Gangetic area and settled them in the Choḷa kingdom. Tiruvottiyūr was a great centre of Śaivism and various Śaiva sects flourished here as we gather from the inscriptions. One of the forms of Śiva in Kaliṅga and Gujarat known as Lakulīśa was particularly popular. In some of the Gaṅga temples Dakshiṇāmūrti is replaced by Lakulīśa who appears instead with a *daṇḍa* in his hand. In Kaliṅga sculpture Lakulīśa or Lagudīśa Śiva with a stick in his hand suggests a teacher with a *daṇḍa* instructing disciples four of whom are shown at his feet. It is this form of Śiva which struck Rājendra's imagination and his sculptor has fulfilled the wish of the emperor by preparing and installing this particular form in one of the important temples of the Choḷas, that at Tiruvottiyūr, in the construction of which Rājendra took very great interest. Almost a parallel of this, the introduction of a deity from one place at another, is the Maheśa, which is more frequent in South India and very scarce in North India, but whose rather frequent occurrence in Bengal, as for instance the images of the deity in the Indian Museum, Rājshāhi Museum and the Museum of the Bangīya Sāhitya Parishad, can be accounted for by the influence of the Senas who were a southern dynasty that came and settled in Bengal and had Sadāśiva imprinted on their seals.

In the temple at Dārāsuram in the long cloister to the north a number of carvings representing different Śaivāchāryas are arranged in a row and fixed in the wall. There are inscribed labels for each giving a short account of them. We know that the Choḷas got many Śaiva teachers from North India.. This is also one of the results of the northern contacts of the Choḷas made possible by Rājendra's turning his eyes in that direction.

In the temple at Tānjore in the long *maṇḍapa* in front of the main shrine which is covered up on all sides and in the front porch at the entrance of this long *maṇḍapa* which has steps only from the sides as is usual in Choḷa structures and where with the series of steps to the front it is clear that it is a later addition, there are here and there windows exquisitely carved in a pleasing greenish blue basalt, the workmanship of which is different from anything around them and which recall similar work from Chāḷukya area. These are carved windows exhibiting fine trellis work with figures of dwarf Gaṇas, birds, animals and patterns including meandering creeper design. All these are undoubtedly from among the trophies collected by the Choḷas during their wars in appreciation of the artistic exuberance lavished on them by the sculptor though he be from the realm of the foe. Thus Rājendra not unlike Augustus before him and Napoleon in recent times has devoted his time not only to his military projects but paused time and again to consider the cultural excellence of the country where he fought with an eye to appreciate and bring back with him mementoes of his association with such objects.

Again it may be observed that in the Dārāsuram temple there is a niche for an extraordinary form of Śiva known as Śarabhamūrti. This form of Śiva represents him in a *samhāra* attitude putting an end to the form of Narasiṁha. This is a very spirited representation in which what is specially to be noted for our purpose is the fine series of clouds from and

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above which are shown Devas rising in adoration of Śiva. This type of cloud representation is more a Chāḷukya feature.

The *gopura* that leads to the Rājarājeśvara temple is a comparatively short one and when its height is compared to its width it is at once obvious that it is just dwarfish though somewhat larger than the earlier *gopuras* in Pallava temples. These dwarf *gopuras* on a wide base are characteristic of the early Choḷa temples and no one who sees the dwarfish *gopura* of the Padmanābha temple at Trivandrum can fail to see that this bespeaks Choḷa influence.

Earlier we find the influence of the Pallava and Pāṇḍya cave types in the Chera country also ; and in the Koṅgu area which was included in the kingdom of the Cheras in early times the same type of cave temple with carvings very similar to the Pallava and Pāṇḍya ones also occur. In style of workmanship, the figures of Raṅganātha and the deities surrounding him in the temple dedicated to him, and the figures in the Lakshmīnarasiṁhasvāmi temple, both on the hill at Nāmakkal in Sālem district, suggest the 8th century. A family of chieftains named Aḍigans or Aḍigamans were ruling from Tagaḍūr (modern Dharmapuri) in this area and were naturally helped by the forces of Kerala in their fight with the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñjaḍayan. The Pallavas also aided the Aḍigan. This fight was a concerted effort of the Pallavas and Keralas to check the growing power of the Pāṇḍyas but they failed in their attempt. We cannot fail to understand why the Raṅganātha group at Nāmakkal should recall Mahābalipuram. It may be mentioned that the friendly relationship with the Pallavas should easily explain the reason and the fact that the art of excavating cave temples was a new innovation in the Tamil country by the Pallavas.

Sentiment overcomes prejudice or predilection

It is a well known fact that amongst the most important factors in Pallava shrines like the prismatic *liṅga* and horned *dvārapālaka* there is an invariable representation of Somāskanda behind the Śivaliṅga in a niche on the wall (Pl. XVIII c). This may be observed in any Pallava shrine in the central cell. This feature is so invariable that it would help dating a temple where there is any doubt whether it is late Pallava or Choḷa. Even apart from this, this theme is such a favourite with the Pallavas, that it is repeated over and over again in little cells and niches, and one of the two fragmentary paintings from the Rājasiṁheśvara temple in Kāñchīpuram is a depiction of the same theme. The temple of Śiva at Tirukkaḷukuṇdram on the hill at first sight may appear like an early Choḷa temple, but when one goes in and sees Somāskanda, it becomes at once obvious that the temple is a Pallava one. This great idol of the Pallavas, Somāskanda, has been wonderfully preserved by the Choḷas by continuing the type with a great love for it, though their own predilection was for Naṭarāja whose shrine at Chidambaram became their principal concern and the repetition of the dancing lord a regular feature in every Choḷa temple. The Choḷas singled out Somāskanda, the bronze representation at Tiruvārūr known as Tyāgarāja, and there concentrated all their attention on this *utsava* form of Śiva and filled every other temple with similar bronze representations. One of their mythical ancestors Muchukunda was supposed to have brought this bronze from heaven and thus its importance was established. The method of depicting Somāskanda behind the *liṅga* in the central shrine was given up and a separate shrine was set apart for the bronze image of Somāskanda in every Choḷa temple and this figure was usually styled Tyāgarāja after

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the famous bronze in Tiruvārūr. Thus their sentimental regard for a deity of their political predecessors was maintained though their own prejudice and predilection was more for the dancing lord whose bronzes became a regular rage in the Choḷa period.

Already at Mahābalipuram we find an early representation of Natarāja of the type we usually meet in most South Indian temples in the *ānandatāṇḍava* pose. At Kūram, in the temple of Śiva, was a fine Pallava bronze representing him dancing in the *ūrdhvajānu* pose. But it is only from the early Choḷa period onwards that the popular type usually met with becomes an invariable feature in all temples. Though one of the best known and justly admired is the Naṭarāja from Tiruvālangādu in the Madras Museum, it is the Natarāja in the Rājarājeśvara temple at Tanjore (Pl. XVIII e) that evokes greater admiration, for it is one of the most marvellous creations of the sculptor of Rājarāja, and along with it, its Śivakāmasundarī, the consort of Śiva as Nateśa. It need not be repeated that the famous image at Chidambaram the place of Natarāja, the lord of dance, a great art, the different poses of which are sculpturally portrayed with inscribed labels on the *gopura* to suggest the aesthetic scripture of the lord, is a magnificent example, almost completely hidden by a load of jewels and garlands that decorate the figure at all times. The painting depicting Natarāja in the Chidambaram temple being worshipped by the Choḷa king among the lovely Choḷa murals from Tanjore (Pl. XIX a) suggests the special predilection for the form of *Āḍavallān* the dancing lord of Chidambaram after whom was named a particular measure and whose epithet *Dakshiṇameruvitaṅkan* was adopted for the deity at Tanjore out of love for the family deity at Chidambaram. It cannot be forgotten that there is significance in the short distance between Chidambaram and Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram the newly established Choḷa capital of Rājendra.

Special predilections

Out of the existing forms of deities some were chosen by particular kings of different dynasties or by the dynasties themselves because of certain special predilections for those forms, or sometimes they were chosen as a family deity and continued to be revered more than any other for centuries. Sometimes the deity acted as a symbol of the military prowess of the king. As an example we have the Tripurāntaka form repeated with great force in almost every tier of the great *vimāna* at Tanjore to suggest the king's ideal of warriorhood. Similarly Śiva and Pārvatī on the coins of the early Vijayanagara kings and their signature *Srī Virūpāksha* on documents only shows the spirit of supreme confidence and child-like faith in that patron deity of theirs enshrined in their capital whose figure was imprinted in that manner and also incidentally suggests the significance in such titles as are still in vogue like *Padmanābhadāsa* for the rulers of Travancore. Similarly the figure of Śrī Venkateśvara on Vijayanagara coins showing their patron deity imprinted thereon, breathes the spirit of dedication of the magnificent empire to the lord, on whose behalf, and with the highest sense of responsibility, the ruler carried on the affairs of government for the welfare of the people ; and it is in this spirit that from this period onwards we find a number of portrait-statues like those of Kṛishṇadevarāya and his queens (Pl. XIX b) and Venkaṭapatirāya, excellent bronze portraits, standing eternally before the Lord of the seven hills, at his portals, with their hands clasped in adoration, Tirumala Nāyak and his queens at Madurā, the Setupatis in the temple corridors of Rāmeśvaram, all eternally standing in adoration of their respective tutelary deities. This was a time of intense devotion and dedication of self to the

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Lord, a spirit that entirely suffused successive Vijayanagara monarchs and their feudatories and expressed itself in the numerous portrait statues of theirs in temples in adoration of the deity. It does not mean that there were no portrait-statues earlier, surely there were many, but this zeal and religious fervour accounting for these numerous portrait figures in every material like stone, bronze and ivory is a special feature that marks the Vijayanagara period.

Something of this spirit is already present in the different *lāñchhanas* or emblems chosen by the royal dynasties like Varāha, Vṛishabha, Garuda and so forth. But this symbol of Varāha seems to have had the highest recognition at the hands of successive dynasties that rose to power. If Garuḍa was shown on a standard in Gupta coins and on their seals, on Rāshṭrakūṭa seals, on copper plates of the Paramāras, and again on some coins of the Vijayanagara period, it was probably the boar that had a greater claim for larger distribution during many centuries in widely separated areas. The Chāḷukyas chose the Varāha as their symbol and it is ever present on their seal and similarly the Vijayanagara emperors and the Kākatīyas had the same emblem, while it was probably Mihirabhoja, who by representing Varāha in human form, with the head of the boar raising Prithvī from the ocean on his snout, as in many sculptures of the anthropomorphic type, to be distinguished from the purely zoomorphic, that probably created the highest dignity for this issue among coins with Varāha emblem ; and his great might appropriately enhanced the value of his chosen ideal of the lord who raised the earth. But the term Varāha most common in South India is due to the Eastern Chāḷukya coins with the mark of Varāha or boar on them and the immense popularity of this issue and its special name based on the emblem itself shows what importance this form of deity attained ; and it only speaks of the highest ideal of righteous rule and protection of the earth and raising it to the highest level of perfection as far as was possible by the king, and as it was for the successive kings of the line it was an ideal for the dynasty itself.

But sometimes this very devotion and zeal affected the rulers to such an extent that there was wrong emphasis placed on certain aspects of religious concept, and it was taken for granted that one deity could be undermined for enhancing the importance of another, and naturally, in this futile venture caused by mental aberration, some forms appeared on the scene as for instance the Śarabha form of Śiva and Kūrmāntaka or Kachchhapeśvara. If Śiva could overcome death as Kālāri and love as Kāmāri why should not he overcome one of the greatest of the triad Vishṇu himself ? But there are other forms of Śiva pleased and granting a boon to Vishṇu who is adoring him, and therefore a wild form of Narasiṁha was chosen and described as continuing to exist long after the purpose of the *avatār* was served and causing terror, to overcome which, it was only Śiva, in the form of Śarabha, a strange animal capable of subduing lions, that could accomplish it ; and so the Śarabha form of Śiva was given a prominence. Ignorance coupled with fanaticism has created Kachchhapeśvara, a form of Śiva adored by Vishṇu as *kachchhapa* or tortoise but this is just because the significance of the term Kachchipeḍu denoting Kāñchīpuram was not understood and Kachchhapeśvara was created.

The persistence of motifs

At Mahābalipuram there is a fine carving of a lion throne. This is a peculiar one showing the animal couchant and its back is flattened to serve as a seat (Pl. XX c). The

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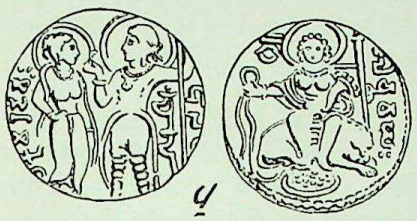
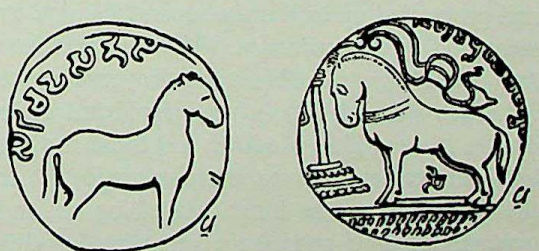
lion is shown roaring in defiance, probably at the enemy, the Western Chāḷukya. When we remember that Narasiṁhavarman was the king responsible for most of the monuments at this place we can understand the significance of this lion throne whence probably the ruler issued commands when he camped at this his port. But why this strange type of *siṁhāsana ?* The usual type of *siṁhāsana* is a seat borne by two seated lions and it is not the back of the animal itself. What may be its source ? We have now to turn to the Gupta period and see the reverse of some of the coins like those of Chandragupta and Kumāradevī to see that Lakshmī is shown seated on a lion (Text fig. 5). And what is the significance ? It represents Pṛithvī and Rājyalakshmī combined in one. She carries the noose and cornucopia suggesting *kośa* and *daṇḍa* as given by Kālidāsa *kośadaṇḍāviva kshitih.* That she is Lakshmī is gathered from the presence of the lotus on which her feet rest and that she is Rājyalakshmī is suggested by the royal throne *siṁhāsana* here actually shown by means of the lion itself on the back of which she is seated. It is this lion seat and the great royal splendour Rājyalakshmī that Narasiṁhavarman enjoyed that is suggested by this significant seat.



Text fig. 5: *Chandragupta Kumāradevī coin with Rājyaśrī seated on lion holding kośa and daṇḍa.*

In the Lucknow Museum there is a fine representation of a horse which is a replica of an Aśvamedha horse (Pl. XX e) after the performance of the sacrifice. *Yūpastambhas* like those found at Isapore and Mathurā and this equine representation have great significance when we compare them with the Aśvamedha type of Gupta coins showing the horse intended for the sacrifice and the *yūpastambha* decorated with gay streamers (Text fig. 6 b). But is this the earliest ? The Aśvamedha sacrifice is of great antiquity and was performed by almost every dynasty of kings. The sacrifice performed by the Śuṅga king Pushyamitra is very well known but when did these kings learn to express in more tangible and visual form this achievement of theirs, the performance of Aśvamedha *yāga ?* From the Nānāghāt inscription we know of the Aśvamedha performed by Śātakarṇi. But it is just a record and not a visual record in tangible form as in the Gupta period. But fortunately the source of this can be traced back to earlier similar tangible representation. There are Sātavāhana coins showing the horse and the *yūpastambha* together, and these are very significant as they are among the earliest tangible proof of what is mentioned in inscriptions (Text fig. 6 a). The Vākāṭakas, the Bhāraśivas, the Ikshvākus, the Pallavas, many are the dynasties that performed this sacrifice. The idea of representing in a more graphic way than by merely mentioning in inscriptions, which induced the Guptas, like the Sātavāhanas, to issue coins, and go a step further by carving representations of the sacrificial horse in stone, also seems to have inspired the Pallavas, who were among those that came into contact with the great Samudragupta ; and in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāl temple at



a b

Text fig. 6: *Aśvamedha coin—a, of Sātavāhana King Siri Chada ; b, Gupta King Samudragupta.*

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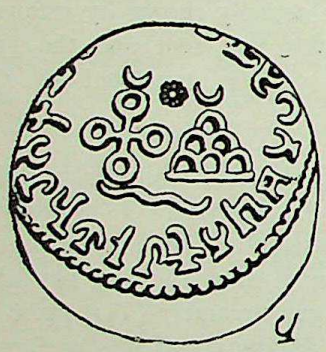
Kāñchīpuram originally known as Parameśvaraviṇṇagaram there is sculptural commentary on the performance of the Aśvamedha mentioned in the Hirahaḍagalli plates of Śivaskandavarman in the form of carved panels where in its apropriate context in the sculptural narration of the history of the Pallavas the performance of the Aśvamedha is depicted by showing the horse near the *yūpa* received and worshipped by the king on its safe return with the crown prince after establishing the power of the Pallavas in the different regions where the animal chose to move (pl. XX d). A very important recent discovery of a sacrificial site at Kalsi in Dehra Dun district by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran has revealed a complete story of the ritual of the *yāga* through elaborately inscribed bricks of the *chayana* of great significance.

On a coin of Yajñaśrī-Sātakarṇi the last of the great Sātavāhana monarchs we find on the reverse four symbols the true significance of which is most illuminating. The youthful figure of the king who appears to have come to the throne even as a youth is presented with the *kākapakshas* or side-locks to suggest his tender age and the symbols on the reverse are what is known to numismatists as the Ujjain symbol, a symbol known as *chaitya* with crescent on top, a zigzag and a circle of dots (Text. fig. 7). These may not have any great significance in themselves unless collectively they can suggest some great meaning. It cannot be that meaningless symbols were repeated on a coin. A king's ambition is conquest and fame and to properly understand and interpret it we require to know how these symbols suggest the king's achievements. Kālidāsa's great hero Raghu, after whom his family is named *Raghuvaṁśa* which forms the theme of the poet's song, was remarkably famous. In the *svayamvara* of Indumatī her companion Sunandā in recounting the glories of the different royal families from which the assembled princes were descended describes Raghu the father of prince Aja to show that the prince was the son of a great warrior. Raghu's fame pure and bright as the moon mounted the mythical hill at the farthest end of the earth, crossed the four oceans, went to the nether world, the abode of the snakes, and proceeded up to heaven beyond the sky, and ever expansive in all directions could not be measured by any measure. The line *ārudhamadrīn udadhīn vitīrṇam bhujaṅgamānām vasatim pravishṭaṁ / ūrdhvam gataṁ yasya na chānubandhi yaśaḥ paricchettumiyattayālam // (Raghuvaṁśa* VI 77) is very significant as in this representation fame is shown or suggested by the moon which is white, and fame in the parlance of the poets is likened to the moon, and what can represent the moon except the crescent. The crescent on top of the hill suggests that the fame of the king climbed up the mountain and went beyond it. The crescent is repeated beyond one of the arms of the Ujjain symbol the four circular ends of which suggest the four oceans beyond which the fame traversed. The abode of the snakes, the nether world, is suggested by the zigzag representing snake which appropriately in Sanskrit is called *bhujaṅga*. The sky cannot be better represented than by a circle of dots, a cluster of stars, *nakshatramaṇḍala*. Herein lies the beauty of symbolic representation of the great fame of a mighty king from a single verse of a gifted poet adopted by a mighty ruler of a later day on his coin. This fascinating theme did not disappear after its appearance on this coin of Śātakarṇi ; so attractive and so full of significance was it, that the Kshatrapas who finally overcame and dispossessed the Sātavāhanas of their western dominions still did



Text fig. 7 : *Reverse of coin of Sātavāhana King Siri Yaña Sātākarṇi with symbols*

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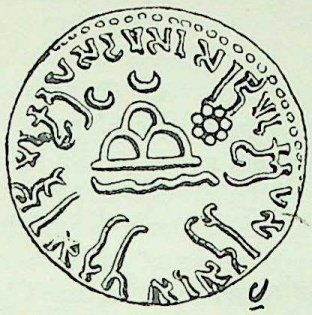
not refrain from adopting and even adapting this symbolic representation of fame originated by the Sātavāhanas on the model of Kālidāsa's verse (Text fig. 8). To show clearer that fame climbed the mountain the crescent was now shown first on the slopes *kaṭaka,* and then on the top of the hill as in the original, and the circle of stars was sometimes replaced by a circle of rays symbolising the sun to suggest the sky and the Ujjain symbol omitted. This is the type found on the coins of Western Kshatrapa rulers like Rudradāma, Dāmasena, Vīradāma and others.



Text fig. 8 : *Reverse of coin of Kshatrapa King Dāmasena with symbols.*

The emblem of a national festival

Every mighty conquest of a great king was celebrated as a great national festival ; and even as today we have commemorative medals, special issue of stamps and so forth to celebrate the great event in the fullest expression of joy, similarly great events like the conquest of an important kingdom or the bringing home of an important war trophy was suitably celebrated by the issue of special coins on the occasion. One such great issue is the coin of Rājendra with the legend *Gaṅgaikoṇḍa* commemorating the great achievement of the emperor in bringing home to the south the divine river of the north, Gaṅgā, by the might of his arm and not by performing penance like Bhagīratha who originally brought the stream to the earth. This account narrated with such great pride in his Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates is significantly suggested in the epithet *Gaṅgaikoṇḍa* on the coin, a name which is associated with his new formed capital also. Here to commemorate the event of creating a liquid pillar of victory a great temple for Śiva was built and this coin struck as a permanent memento of the great home-coming of the Ganges.

There is another coin with the legend *Malaināḍukoṇḍa* that commemorates Choḷa conquest of Chera. It is also a commemorative one like the *Gaṅgaikoṇḍa* issue but its importance is obscured by the other which is more important by its glory. It is this method of issue of coins that brought on types like *Talakāḍugoṇḍa* from the Mysore area proclaiming the conquest of Talakāḍ the capital of the Gaṅgas. No doubt in inscriptions such epithets as *Vātāpikoṇḍa, Kachchiyum tañjayum koṇḍa, Maduraiyum īḻamum koṇḍa* do occur, but the idea of commemorating these victories by legends on special issue of coins is a happy one thought of in the Choḷa period and continued thereafter ; but it was not always by a commemorative legend like this mentioning the conquest of a particular capital. Just as the Choḷa emperor after his conquest of Kalyāṇ brought a *dvārapāla* therefrom as war trophy, similarly Kṛishṇadevarāya brought a lovely image in greenish blue basalt representing Bālakrishṇa (Pl. XX a) as a war trophy from Udayagiri after conquering Pratāparudra Gajapati in 1513 A.D. This was a great blow to the Gajapati ruler of Orissa whose kingdom extended beyond Guṇṭūr district. In 1514 Krishṇadevarāya consecrated this image of Bālakrishṇa in a temple that he specially built for this purpose in his capital. The inscriptions here give a graphic description of the details pertaining to this consecration and on this occasion he issued gold coins with the figure of the deity which he got as war trophy imprinted on it (Pl. XX b). The workmanship of this Bālakrishṇa is not very different from the type that we meet with in similar stone arranged here and there amidst the rest of the carvings in sandstone in that great edifice raised by Narasiṁha at Koṇārak. This

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coin of Krishṇadevarāya with the legend *Srī Pratāpa Krishṇarāya* and the figure of Bālakrishṇa was for quite a long time taken to represent a type known as Durgī but it is now definitely understood that it is Bālakrishṇa and issued on the occasion of the consecration of the temple. The image itself, sadly mutilated after the ravages of Talikoṭa was lost in the debris of the ruins of the capital, and in recent years rescued and preserved in the Madras Museum where it can now be seen.

The Choḷas celebrated their conquests in another manner also. If Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī issued restruck coins of Nahapāṇa to signify his victory, the Choḷas adopted a still more ingenious method. It may be remembered that the Choḷas did not stop with fighting and overcoming the Pāṇḍya. Rājendra Choḷa constructed a huge palace at Madura, by the weight of which even the earth became unsteady, as the inscription says, and he established his son as the viceroy, and he was styled a Choḷa-Pāṇḍya with epithets exactly like those of the earlier Pāṇḍya monarchs, which gave him the long name of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Choḷa-Pāṇḍya, and thus the Choḷa-Pāṇḍya viceroy came into vogue in Madura. It is in this same manner that after the conquest of Ceylon, Rājarāja's issue of coins served as the model of the Ceylonese type, like some of the coins of Parākramabāhu and others. This interesting way of winning the affection of the subdued people by the conqueror associating himself wholly with the ancient institutions of the subdued kingdoms or lending his to them in no small measure reveals the great statesmen that the Choḷas were.

Foreign traces in local art

In many places in South India and particularly in the Krishṇā region several hoards of Roman coins have been found. It is a well known fact that from the very beginning the Roman empire had trade relationship with the Pāṇḍyas and there was a Roman colony near the Pāṇḍya capital. Quite a number of gold coins have been found not only all along the coast, but also in the interior, even in far away Coimbatore district, which clearly prove the brisk trade that was in vogue. Similarly in the Krishṇā region, Roman coins found in plenty, as also near the Western Coast, show the maritime intercourse during the Sātavāhana period and later. It is no wonder therefore that we find many vestiges of foreign culture in indigenous sculpture which accounts for the visual interpretation of a sculptor's appreciation of the ways and manners, of the modes and fashions, of the taste and predilections of foreigners in his own country. That is why we find this element most in the region where the sculptor could observe most. The effect of foreign element is noticed most in the frontier and the Punjāb more than elsewhere in North India as it was here the Greek contact was the most. Along with every wave of invasion came also the fruits of that cultural contact and the Scythian impact has left us a strange statuary, mode of dress and other vestiges obvious in relics of the Kushāṇa period. But in the South it is in the great seaport towns and in the great cities where foreign trade was most flourishing that we find such vestiges. At Amarāvatī itself the Sātavāhana sculpture shows scenes now and again with some figure or other in a peculiar dress which cannot be associated with any indigenous mode but at once suggests foreign Greco-Roman element. Sometimes it is a woman in Greek dress offering a cup of wine to a soldier almost Roman in appearance. It may be sometimes a woman wearing a Greek robe and holding in her hands a cornucopia which is somewhat modified into a *śriṅga,* a horn of plenty, one of the emblems in the royal court. Similarly in Ikshvāku sculpture at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa of about the 3rd century A.D., there is

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a representation of a bearded warrior in Scythian dress and a youth looking every inch Roman with a horn in his hands. At Mahābalipuram, the port of the Pallavas, Kadalmalai as it was known, which according to the songs of Periāḻvār was rich with foreign merchandise in ships laden with them lying in it, is to be seen the same type of foreign element sprinkled here and there among indigenous motifs in sculpture. As at Amarāvatī the griffin and sphinx occur in the Krishṇamaṇḍapa at Mahābalipuram to enliven the monotony of realistic representation of animals all around and suggest a weird atmosphere for the Govardhana mountain. Even in the Pāṇḍya area the introduction of foreign element recalling Bacchanalian orgies is obvious in the early Paṇḍya paintings from the cave temple at Tirumalaipuram. Even as late as the 17th century A.D., this tendency is noticed in the ivory carvings of Tirumala Nāyak's time at Śrīraṅgam where the Europeans depicted wear dress characteristic of the time which is very interesting and recalls Elizabethan figures. These are as it were commentaries on the mode of absorption and presentation of foreign cultures without detriment to our taste and culture pattern.

A fashion spreads so easily

This may be observed in the spread of the tendency to prepare colossal images. The figure of Gomaṭeśvara, a Western Gaṅga creation, has many similar repetitions as at Kārkal and other places. Colossal monolithic Buddhas and Jaina figures like those from the southern Tamil districts, a few of which are now preserved in the Madras Museum, may be compared with the colossal figures of Ānanda from Polonnāruva, the colossal standing Buddha from Awkana and other carvings from Ceylon. The earlier ones like the seated Buddha from Anurādhāpura now in the Colombo Museum seem to have inspired this craze for huge monoliths on the mainland also and the colossal ones attempted again in Ceylon were due to this desire to outdo what was done on the mainland. The contact with Ceylon was so great and the flow of ideas so frequent that the 11th and 12th centuries afforded great scope for this type of work. It may be remembered that the Choḷa monarchs Rājarāja and Rājendra produced many pairs of colossal *dvārapālas* for their colossal deity housed in a stupendous shrine. The spirit of the colossus was carried even to Burma and Siam from Ceylon and the large Buddha lying in *nirvāṇa* came into being. The craze so grew on the mainland that the colossal dimensions of the Jain Gomaṭeśvara were almost transferred to a Hanumān at Nāmakkal in consonance with the graphic description of how the messenger of Rāma assumed heroic proportions touching the sky to convince Sītā that he was not a pygmy but could carry even Lankā with everyone in it including Rāvana—*śaktirasti hi me voḍhum laṅkāmapi sarāvaṇām* (*Rāmāyaṇa* V, 37,22). Similarly the colossal Narasiṁha and Gaṇeśa monoliths sprang up in Hampi. And Raṅganātha was conceived like sleeping Buddha in such huge proportions that three doors were necessary to have a *darśan* of his face, navel and feet whether at Śrīraṅgam or at Trivāndrum.

Religious thought expressed in sculpture

Among the sculptures from Bihār in the Indian Museum there is one that is very interesting as a composite figure. It represents Sūrya, Devī, Vishṇu and Gaṇeśa on all the four sides and the whole of it is shaped like a *liṅga* (Pl. XXI b). This is a suggestion of the *pañchāyatana,* the five gods to be worshipped by every Hindu house-holder. To understand the significance of this we have to turn to the days of Śrī Śaṅkarāchārya when different sects, each with its own zeal for its own deity, quarrelled with the rest and would not think in

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terms of tolerance. Śaṅkara found the Śāktas, the Śaivas, the Bhāgavatas and the others more wastefully emphasising ones' own mode of worship rather than get at the spirit of the oneness of God. Śaṅkara to teach his *advaita* in a practical form introduced the *pañchāyatana* to teach people not to distinguish between one deity and another but respect all alike and today in every South Indian household the *pañchāyatana* five-fold worship exists in the form of symbols for each of the five deities collectively worshipped. These are generally a pebble for Śiva, an amonite for Vishṇu, a quartz for Sūrya, carnelian for Gaṇeśa and pyrite for Devī. All of them are symbolic and shapeless for *nirguṇa* form of worship. Though in conformity with the *advaitic* concept, this could not satisfy the less intellectually developed, whose craving for the form of the deity still dominated them, and for such came into existence this *pañchāyatana* type of figures which is not so much for household worship as for installation in a temple. Śaṅkara's influence is staggering. It is no wonder that we find it in the northernmost limits of India, and it is no surprise that the precepts of Śaṅkara could be responsible for the creation of this very interesting sculptural form for we know that his influence spread far beyond the shores of his homeland. In Kambuja a feudatory state of Fu-nan where there are many inscriptions in Pallava Grantha there is a reference in an inscription of the reign of Indravarman I of the 9th century where Śivasoma the royal *guru* is described as having learnt the *śāstras* from Bhagavān Śaṅkara *yenādhītāni śāstrāṇi bhagavachchhaṅkarāhvayāt niśśeshasūrimūrdhālimālālīḍhāṅghripaṅkajāt.* This along with a reference to the rulers of Kāñchī, the Pallavas, in a eulogy of Jayavarman I in the latter half of the 7th century, the complete context of which is unfortunately lost as the inscription is mutilated, shows us that the influence, both cultural and aesthetic, from the great capital of Narasiṁhavarman Pallava, was kept up all along, and people prided in their visit to the great University at Kāñchī as at Taxilā or at Nālandā and the sacred institution of the Śaṅkarāchārya at Kāñchī continued the noble work of the first Āchārya through his succession of disciples, of whom the present Āchārya is a living embodiment of immaculate thought and vision. The philosophic thought of Śaṅkara has indeed contributed in no small measure to peace and goodwill among warring sects.

Similarly another great concept, that of Sūrya, *dhyeyassadā savitṛimaṇḍalamadhyavartī nārāyaṇaḥ* and *namas savitre jagadekachakshushe jagatprasūtisthitināśahetave trayīmayāya triguṇātmadhāriṇe viriñchinārāyaṇaśaṅkarātmane* is responsible for one of the most glorious creations in Javanese art, a composite figure of Sūrya, Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva on all the four sides of a Śivaliṅga now preserved in the Indian Museum (Pl. XXI a). In South India this is every day a prayer in the mouth of every one performing *Sandhyā* and an expression of this by the Choḷa sculptor's chisel has produced the rather intriguing uncommon form of a three-headed Sūrya in the temple at Chidambaram. This concept showing Sūrya as Śiva, Brahmā and Vishṇu is already present in the numerous names of the Lord narrated by Bhīshma to Yudhishthira in the *Vishṇusahasranāma* of the *Anuśāsanaparva* in such epithets as Brahmeśāna, Achyuteśa and so forth.

In South India Kārttikeya is specially known as Subrahmaṇya but why he is so called is itself an interesting study. We may recall that on some of the early tribal coins of the Yaudheyas we find a figure with six heads styled Brahmaṇyadeva. We know of no other Deva with six heads except Kārttikeya or Shanmukha who was nurtured by the six Krittikās. It is a well known fact that many families of Vedic scholars were got from different parts of North India during different times by different dynasties of kings and given land as

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agrahāra and encouraged to settle down in South India. Even today the existence of villages like Enṇāyiram suggests how eight thousand families migrated and became *Ashtasahasra ;* the *Vadamas* being the last to come have been considered northerners by the earlier settlers. During the prayer of *Sandhyā* the *Vadamas* still revere the river of their homeland, Narmadā, and express fear for snakes in that region which really cannot harm them any more. In the same *Sandhyā* worship they also invoke the Brahmaṇyadeva *namo brahmaṇyadevāya gobrāhmaṇahitāya cha.* This Brahmaṇyadeva is the lord of Righteousness the same as the six headed Brahmaṇyadeva of the coins. That is how, to emphasise the opposite of Abrahmaṇya, Brahmaṇyadeva was made Subrahmaṇyadeva, and this became more established than Skanda or Kārttikeya. But today in North India no one knows who the South Indian Subrahmaṇya is and he has to be explained as Kārttikeya. At the same time it should not be forgotten that the term Subrahmaṇya cannot be very old as it does not occur as such in inscriptions.

A culture that travelled overseas

From the earliest times Indian maritime activity has been very brisk. The cultural remains in different countries of South East Asia point to this great factor. From the early centuries of the Christian era there have been waves of migration for colonisation in these far off countries. The discovery of inscriptions in Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Malaya, Java, and Borneo show very clearly that the script is Indian and from Pallava area. A close scrutiny reveals that the sculpture in Java is influenced not only by Pallava traditions but also Chāḷukya and Gaṅga. But the main inspiration seems to be from Kāñchī, a cosmopolitan city of culture and a great University centre, ruled by powerful monarchs, and where even the progenitor of the Kadamba family Mayūraśarman came for his education as recorded in the Tāḷagunda inscription. We have already noted that similarly in Kamboja also the influence of the rulers of Kāñchī and the spiritual guidance of Śaṅkarāchārya are explicit in inscriptions from the place. The names of the early rulers from Java and Borneo who performed many Vedic sacrifices and have recorded them in *yūpa* inscriptions in Pallava Grantha characters of the 4th-5th centuries A.D., end in *varman* just like Mahendravarman or Narasiṁhavarman of the Pallava dynasty. In Cambodia also it is the same story, Jayavarman, Indravarma, Rudravarman, Bhavavarman and so forth. The Pallava tradition of naming after himself the deity established by the king, as for instance Rājasiṁheśvara, which is later continued by the Choḷas, is found even in Cambodia as in the case of Indreśvara named after Indravarman, and the temple styled Indreśvaragṛiha just like Rājasiṁheśvaragṛiha. The inscriptions from Borneo give a graphic account of *yāgas,* the *dakshiṇā* and the *ṛitviks* who were effulgent like fire in lines like *śrīmadvirājakīrteh rājñah śrīmūlavarmaṇah puṇyam / śṛiṇvantu vipramukhyā ye chānye sādhavaḥ purushāḥ // bahudānajivadānam sakalpavṛiksham sabhūmidānam cha/ teshām puṇyagaṇānām yūpoyam sthāpito vipraiḥ //, śrīmataśśrīnarendrasya kuṇḍaṅgasya mahātmanaḥ / putrośvavarmā vikhyāto vaṁśakartā yathāmśumān // tasya putrā mahātmānastrayastraya ivāgnayah / teshām trayāṇām pravarastapobaladamānvitah // śrīmūlavarmā rājendro yashṭvā bahusuvarṇakaṁ / tasya yajñasya yūpoyam dvijendraissamprakalpitah //,* and *śrīmato nripamukhyasya rājñah srīmūlavarmaṇaḥ dānam puṇyatame kshetra yaddattam vaprakeśvare // dvijātibhyognikalpebhyo vimśatirgosahasrikam / tasya puṇyasya yūpoyaṁ kṛito viprairihāgataih //.* Pūrṇavarman's inscriptions specially the carved impression of feet and the words *vikrāmtasya* and *vishṇoriva padadvayam* in the verse *vikrāntasyāvanipateśśrīmatah*

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pūrṇavarmaṇaḥ / tārumānagarendrasya vishṇoriva padadvayam // suggest the concept of *nāvishṇuḥ pṛithivīpatiḥ* with emphasis. We do not know the reason and the circumstances that led to the migrations from India but they seem to have occurred periodically. Sometimes as recorded in the Siamese annals it was in the 8th century about 765 A.D., when there was political disturbance in India and four tribes of Brāhmaṇs made their way eastward from Wanilara to Burma, Pegu, the Laos States, Siam and Cambodia (A. Steffen, Art. No. 125, *Man* 1902 p. 180). That was the time after the feud between Harsha, Pulakeśi and Narasiṁhavarman and later between their successors, and may be, that this political unrest gave some impetus to emigration. But anyway those who left India to go overseas went in large numbers carrying every inch of their culture, and the colonisation was done with religious zeal to preserve their great heritage which was conceived as part of *svadharma.* Mr. T. N. Ramachandran has made an ingenious suggestion that Prambanan is just Brāmbanam which is just a corruption for Brahmavana the same as Vedāraṇya, Veda standing for Brahma and araṇya for vana. He has shown that probably it is a cult of Vedāraṇya that has been carried to Java. In Vedāraṇyam in South India which is just on the sea coast the worship of Agastya is emphasised along with that of Śiva and it is just this that we find at Prambanan and almost everywhere at Java and bhaṭāraguru which is taken to be a form of Śiva is represented as a holy sage. Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has a long and interesting paper on the cult of Agastya in Java. In fact Agastya who was taken to be the eternal priest as the civiliser of the South was deified and his form was carried with devotion and fervour by the colonists. Even in the Buddhist monument at Barabudur where to illustrate a Jātaka story people are shown travelling by ship from one country to another the figure of Agastya is shown in an honoured place towards one end of the vessel by a grateful people who cannot forget how their ancestors moved, just as even today the Javanese though now of a different faith have still the same zeal for the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa.* This figure of Agastya is a symbol of what we can expect to find of Indian culture in Java. It is unnecessary to repeat how great a source of inspiration is the *Mahābhārata* to the Javanese. No wonder a *dhyāna* of *Vyāsa* as we still know today in South India and occurring specially in the southern recension of the *Mahābhārata, abhraśyāmaḥpiṅgajaṭabaddhakalāpaḥ prāmśurdandī kṛishṇamṛigatvakparidhānaḥ sākshāllokān pāvayamānaḥ kavimukhyaḥ pārāśaryaḥ parvasu rūpam vivṛiṇotu / /* is preserved in the manuscripts in Bālinese now made available by Dr. Sylvain Levi. The devotion for sages obvious in sculptures of them at Mahābalipuram, Vedāraṇyam, Tiruvārūr and many such places in South India is obvious also in Javanese sculpture. The Rishis in Javanese sculpture are fashioned exactly like the Rishis in Pallava and Choḷa sculpture.

For one who wants to study the *samskāras* and ritual as they obtain in India and also desires to know how they were observed in the past, probably Javanese sculptures help even more than those from the homeland itself. From this point of view some of the sculptures must be considered not only invaluable but unique. The dance traditions of India record different *hastas* all of which no doubt occur in Java as in India, specially the *Bharatanāṭya* traditions in South India. But there are certain other *hastas* which are purely religious. As an example we can take the *yamapāśamudrā* that occurs at Mahābalipuram. This is from Arjuna's penance, where, in the vicinity of the river suggested by Nāginīs and sages performing penance on the bank, there are the youthful sons and disciples of Rishis, one carrying water for *abhishekha,* another wringing water from his cloth, a third performing *sūryopasthāna* after his midday *Sandhyā* and looking at the sun through the

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aperture formed by his fingers clasped in *yamapāśamudrā* (Pl. XXII a). Anyone who has observed the *mādhyandinasandhyā* performed in a South Indian home can see how this *yamapāśamudrā* is used for a peep at the sun to pray of him long life, happiness and success. The sculpture is very cleverly conceived to suggest the time of the day, noon, when the sun is fierce and it indicates the rigorous penance of Arjuna. If this sculpture is unique it is also very suggestive. The wringing of the water from the cloth is also full of meaning as it connotes a ritual known as *vāsodaka* which like *śikhodaka* comes immediately after the bath.

As a parallel to this in its unique nature in depicting a religious *mudrā* there are carvings at Barabudur in Java which indicate *saṅkalpa* (Pl. XXII c), specially *mahāsaṅkalpa* during the ceremony of the commencing of studies on the *adhyāyopākarma* day. To understand this sculpture one has to observe the procedure in ritual on *śrāvaṇa pūrṇimā* day when the Vedic studies are begun every year and it is an important religious function in South India (Pl. XXII b). Every one assembled holds the two palms one across the other and solemnly declares that he is freeing himself from all sins and starting his Vedic studies ; that is *mahāsaṅkalpa* which all of them repeat just as the teacher utters it. The context in which this occurs in Javanese sculpture is also one of study. A number of young boys are shown seated in front of a *guru* with their hands in *saṅkalpa* attitude for beginning their studies. There is no sculpture in India yet known to depict this great theme and how strange and how delightful that we should seek sculptural interpretation of it in an 8th century carving from Java and again for understanding it turn our eyes to South India where the custom still prevails.

Another sculpture from Barabudur (Pl. XXIV a) shows the Bodhisattva as a baby and the *jātakarma* is thereby most graphically presented. When we see in another similar carving, painted terracotta figurines of birds handled by sculptors and woodcarvers, all intended for the ritual, we cannot help recalling the graphic description of the marriage of Rājyaśrī given by Bāṇa in his *Harshacharita* where terracottas and pots painted for the purpose and got ready are mentioned exactly for the purpose of similar ritual. In South Indian sculpture depicting the life of Krishṇa, the baby boy is similarly shown with Nanda and Yaśodā who performed the *jātakarma*.

In representations of the marriage of Pārvatī in Indian sculpture it is generally the *pāṇigrahaṇa* aspect that is emphasised. At Elephanta, Ellora, at Madura and in every other presentation of the theme in bronze or stone in South India, the Kalyāṇasundara form of Śiva and Pārvatī is shown with their hands clasped as a token of their marriage (Pl. XXIII c). At Elephanta Himavān is shown giving away his daughter who approaches bashfully to hold the hand of Śiva who graciously receives her. The holding of the hand *pāṇigrahaṇa* or *pāṇipīḍana* is an important part of marriage ritual. This same theme is sometimes however represented in Bengal by *saptapadī* or the seven steps that the wife takes along with her husband as a token of companionhood (Pl. XXIII b). Here she is shown taking the steps with Śiva and in front of him. This is also an important thing in the marriage. But in Java the sculptor fully aware of both these has chosen another important item in a marriage, the benediction, for depiction (Pl. XXIII a). There are new clothes offered on a plate for the bride and bridegroom with the blessings of the elders to the music of Vedic chant and a priest is sprinkling holy water with mango sprouts or *kuśa* grass uttering Vedic benedictions. This may be observed on any auspicious occasion in

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South India and the presentations of clothes and sprinkling of water with blessings is also an important item in the marriage. It is this that the sculptor has chosen for depiction. It is indeed refreshing to see how he has been original in his treatment and how he is acquainted with the ritual that had become a part of Javanese life and being.

In the Sātavāhana sculptures from Amarāvatī and elsewhere and in similar Ikshvāku sculptures from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa representing the scene of the interpretation of Māyā's dream Brāhmaṇas are shown few by Śuddhodana before he asks the interpretation (Pl. XXV b). The guests are seated on cane seats with a circular cane table in front of each on which their food is spread. This puzzled me for quite a long time till the solution suggested itself when I observed that *kuśa* grass was offered both for *pātrāsana* and for *āsana* for the Brāhmaṇas invited to be fed on a *śrāddha* day. Just as *akshatas* are offered in the place of dress, ornaments etc., for any deity, similarly this *kuśa* was offered in the place of the chair and table that could not be provided for the guests as it was no longer in use. When we turn to Java we can understand this even better as both the seat and the rest for the plate from which food is taken are very low (Pl. XXV d) and this is the stage intermediate between what we see at Amarāvatī and its final disappearance as in modern South India, where it is confined to a low seat for the guest and none for the plate.

When a distinguished guest is received he is given *pūrṇakumbha* and a large gathering goes out to meet and receive him. Even today in South India a pecular way of telling a person that he is late in coming is by asking whether he was expecting a *pūrṇakumbha* with invitation. Presentation of this is even today a regular feature. A vessel full of water with fresh mango sprouts in it is offered to the distinguished new comer. At Java we find a panel representing *pūrṇakumbha* being offered to Buddha (Pl. XXIV d). A vessel filled with water and lotuses is placed before him and he is adored. This mode of welcome and honour is best understood by this living custom which links South India even in modern times with ancient Java.

Similarly a guest is given *arghya, pādya* and *achamanīya* as soon as he arrives. Though today all this is just a relic of the past and this is no more observed in daily life this ritual survives as we may see in the *śrāddha* ceremony as it is performed in the South. The Brāhmaṇas who are invited for the feast in honour of the ancestors are received with great respect and offered *pādya* after the worshipping of their feet. Water is poured and their feet washed with devotion. And finally they are offered drinking water as *āchamanīya* for sipping it as an appetiser. It is after this the guest is fed and it is now that the *āsana* and *pātrāsana* are laid, one for the guest to be seated on and the other for spreading his food. Among some of the panels from Barabudur there are representations of the washing of the feet *pādya* as in the case of Māyādevī when she arrives at Lumbinī (Pl. XXIV c), and the offering of *āchamanīya* to a guest from spouted vessel (Pl. XXIV b); the last mentioned sculpture appears in the context of good fruit for good deeds and evil for evil, and is an illustration of a meritorious action, that of receiving a guest and honouring him.

It may be noted that as Brāhmanism of a high order was prevalent in these islands every little detail pertaining to ritual and holy life is found illustrated in Java, Bali, Borneo and the other islands. We have already spoken of the *yūpa* inscriptions and *dvijas* who were effulgent like fire *dvijātibhyognikalpebhyah.* The very appearance of the Rishis and

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Brāhmaṇas in Javanese sculpture recalls exact prototypes from Pallava and Chola carvings. Rishis are shown wearing matted locks, *yajñopavīta, kuṇḍalas* on their ears, and usually have an ample belly. We can compare some of these with similar representations of sages from Dārāsuram or Chidambaram, Nāgapaṭṭiṇam or Paṭṭīśvaram. The Brāhmaṇa carrying a simple umbrella of bamboo covered with leaves is a characteristic representation in Javanese sculpture as in India. The type occurs in the early carvings of Amarāvatī and in all later sculptures Pallava, Choḷa and so forth. In fact the presence of the umbrella in the hand of a person indicates that he is a Brāhmaṇa. In the incident of Śiva coming to fetch Sundara as painted in the Rājarājeśvara temple the old Brāhmaṇa carries an umbrella. At Ajaṇtā the Amarāvatī tradition is found continued, as, in the narration of the Vessaṇtara Jātaka, the Brāhmaṇa who comes to fetch the children from the prince their father carries an umbrella. Rishis in penance sit at ease with one or both their legs bound by a piece of cloth *paryaṅkagrandhi* in Javanese sculpture as in South Indian sculpture an excellent example of which may be seen in Arjuna's penance at Mahābalipuram. The holy seat for the sage is different from the richer furniture with *makara-mukha* or other decoration and both the simpler and the richer varieties with coverlets and foot-rest occur in Javanese as in Indian sculpture. The *vetrāsana* or cane seat in Java is not different from the one as it occurs at Amarāvatī. It may be observed that the *yajñopavīta* running over the right arm is as much a feature in Javanese (Pl. XXV c) as in Pallava or Choḷa sculpture (Pl. XXV a). For the deities in South India the *karaṇḍamukuṭa* is very often used and this occurs over and over again in Java.

It is not too much to say that almost every feature that we find in India is repeated in these far off countries in the east. Ideas of heaven and hell are as graphically portrayed in Cambodia on the east side of the gallery of Ankor Vāt and on the covered base of the Barabudur stūpa in Java (Pl. XXVI b & c) as in the comparatively late paintings of the *yamapaṭa* in India from Cuddapah which continues a tradition of paintings and carvings illustrating the fruits of good and evil deeds as mentioned in early literature as for instance in the *Harshacharita* and *Mudrārākshasa*. The picture showman *yamapaṭika* was a feature in ancient India and the tradition survives in these folk art pictures like the one from Cuddapah now preserved in the Madras Museum (Pl. XXVI a) ; and how refreshing to find an early counterpart in far off Cambodia or Java.

Among the many *vāhanas* used in Śiva temples in South India there is one known as *Adhikāranandī* (Pl. XXI d). It is represented as a human figure with a bovine head and kneeling in the act of carrying Śiva as his mount. This form of Nandī is unknown elsewhere, but sure as anything we would expect to find it in Java, and we do have it there (Pl XXI c). In the museum at Djakarta just as Garuḍa, a bird in almost human form with a pointed beak, is shown carrying Vishṇu, Nandī is also shown as a human being with the head of a bull carrying Śiva. This is one of the most interesting sculptures pointing to direct South Indian influence like that of the script used in the inscriptions there.

But this influence is not merely confined to Pallava or Chāḷukya as already pointed out. There are also influences from the Kaliṅga Gaṅga area. Anyone who has visited Mukhaliṅgam would never miss the charming figure of a Nāgarāja, princely in appearance, holding a vessel in his hand which is a spout for draining the water from the central cell (Pl. XXVII d). This is a charming motif indeed. In East Java and Bali there are some

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fine representations of figures holding a vessel which similarly acts as a spout for draining water. Thus this happy motif is repeated (Pl. XXVII c).

At the entrance to some of the temples in Java as at Chandi Sewu there are colossal monolithic figures of *bhūtas* or *rākshasas* hefty and imposing kneeling and watching at the portals. These at once recall the grand *Bhūtavāhanas* which are peculiar to South Indian temples.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* there is a mention of *dīpavṛiksha* a tree of lamps lit with great joy as part of an expression of a happy event, for instance, on the eve of Rāma's anointment as crown-prince. Mediaeval examples of this *dīpavṛiksha* of colossal size built elaborately may be seen in Canarese districts, and as an example may be mentioned the one in front of the temple of Banaśankarī in the Bijāpūr district in the vicinity of Bādāmī, the old capital of the early Western Chāḷukyas. Even today bronze or brass lamps of this type five to six feet high and with gay decorations on the numerous branches issuing from them may be seen kept in many temples of antiquity and some such *dīpavrikshas* are preserved in the Art-ware section of the Madras Museum (Pl. XXVII b). Can we expect this in Java? Surely we can. We do find it in one of the many panels on the *stūpa* at Barabudur (Pl. XXVII a).

Every motif of interest in India has its counterpart in Java. The *makara* is a great favourite in Indian art and the *gomukhas* of South India are generally decorated with the *makara* head. The back of the early type of seat has also *makara* decoration and we have fine examples in Amarāvatī sculpture. On the *toraṇa* it is the *makara* that is used for decoration. On the ear the *makarakuṇḍala* is worn. *Makara-kaṇṭhīs* or necklets with *makara* decoration are known from Gandhāra. So the *makara* is a favourite motif. This, the lotus and the lion-head frequently occur to beautify sculpture and architecture. When we turn to Java we find the *makara* for *gomukha, makara* for *toraṇa, makara* as *kuṇḍala, makara* in every possible manner as decorative motif. Similarly the lion-head. The conch, the wheel and other symbols similarly occur frequently. It is interesting to note that the flame issuing from the conch and discus in early Pallava and Chāḷukya art is repeated in exactly the same manner in Javanese sculpture. Even the detail of lotus issuing from a conch resting on a tripod is found repeated in Javanese sculpture just as in Eastern Gaṅga sculpture. If the tripod from Java closely resembles many that are every now and then found as treasure trove along with other images, and acquired sometimes by the Madras Museum, it is interesting to note that even such trivial details as the oven, the utensils and process of cooking as depicted on the Barabudur monument in one of the panels exactly resemble a similar cooking scene in the story of Sundara from the Choḷa paintings in the Rājarājeśvara temple. A peacock feather fan as royal paraphernalia among the panels depicting the story of Śaiva saints at Dārāsuram and closely resembling similar representation in Eastern Gaṅga sculpture from Bhuvaneśvar has its close parallel or counterpart in Javanese sculpture as at Barabudur. It is not only here in Java that such parallels occur. We have only to turn our eyes to Malaya and Cambodia to see many wonderful parallels. The carvings at Ankor Vāṭ are as vivid and full of Purāṇic themes as the panels from Prambanan. Fine figures of Vishṇu of Pallava type have been found in Malaya by Dr. Quaritch Wales and similarly bronzes of Buddha of the Amarāvatī type. These last have been found also in distant Borneo.

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Equally inviting us to pause and consider this close parallelism between India and the culture inspired by India abroad in the Eastern islands are the traditions pertaining to music and dance. Scholars like Dr. Kats and Mr. K. V. Ramachandran have elaborately dealt with this aspect and elucidated many points of interest. The musical orchestra of Java has only to be compared with that represented in Amarāvatī sculpture to see that all the types like *veṇu, vīṇā, mṛidaṅga* and *kāmsyatāla* are repeated. The *vīṇā* is of both the early types, bow and guitar-shaped. The *mṛidaṅga* is of all the three types, *aṅkya, āliṅgya* and *ūrdhvaka*. Though at Amarāvatī *kāmsyatālas* do not occur, they are already there at Ajaṇṭā, and at Java we find both the smaller, as are used for *Nāgasvaram* and *Bharatanāṭya* in South India, and also the larger ones. It is extremely interesting to compare the several musical scenes from Java with similar scenes from Amarāvatī and the flying divine musicians in the Choḷa paintings from the Rājarājeśvara temple at Tānjore.

The dance traditions of Java are still wonderful. They at once remind us of our own dances *Kathakali* and *Bharatanāṭya*. The 8th century sculptures from Barabudur form valuable study for one interested in the *hastas* and *karaṇas*. Similarly all the *karaṇas* represented on the Śiva temple at Prambanan form as important a document explaining Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* as the similar valuable record in stone with labels for all the *karaṇas* and *aṅgahāras* on the *gopura* at Chidambaram. When we remember the active relationship between Java and India not only in the earlier centuries but also specially from the time of Rājarāja who was very friendly, his son who established his supremacy, and also during the time of Kulottuṅga, we can understand these parallels better. Many of the *karaṇas* like *patāka, tripatāka, ardhachandra, śikhara, kartarīmukha, sūchī,* and *samyuta hastas* like *añjali, pushpapuṭa* and so forth occur even in ordinary narration of events and not necessarily in a dance context, showing how the language of dance was well understood and naturally expressed itself even in daily life. Some of the dance scenes at Barabudur, both showing a single dancer and a pair, at once recall similar scenes of single and double dancers from India as for instance in the painting from the Brihadīśvara temple of early Choḷa date. The *pādasvastika* shown by crossed legs and the back view in *prishṭhasvastika* attitude from Barabudur are indeed as lovely as their counterparts from the Tānjore paintings. These sculptures show how vital was the cultural relationship between India and Java.

It is most interesting that in the 8th century sculpture of Java we have so much that is all our own and it is all due to the enterprising spirit of those ancestors of ours who carried the torch of culture to those distant islands beyond the seas and tried to live a life not very different from that they were leading at home, even their kings continuing the same old traditions of peace and war, of name-endings, of faith, of sacrifice, of concern for their subjects, of appreciation of art, in short, carrying, what Kālidāsa would say, a luminous and pleasent bit of India out into the distant ocean to be settled in a far-off island, *kāntimatkhaṇḍam ekam.*

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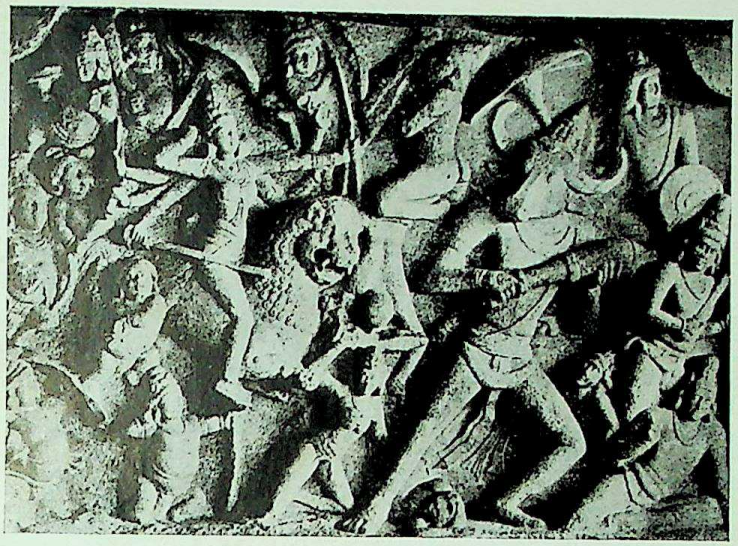

a

b

a. Mahishamardinī—Pallava, 7th century A.D., Manabalipuram, South India.

b. Mahishamardinī—Rāshṭrakūta, 8th century A.D., Ellora, Hyderabad, Deccan.

PLATE II

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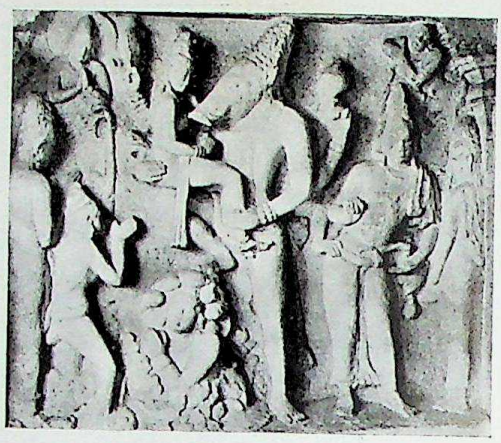

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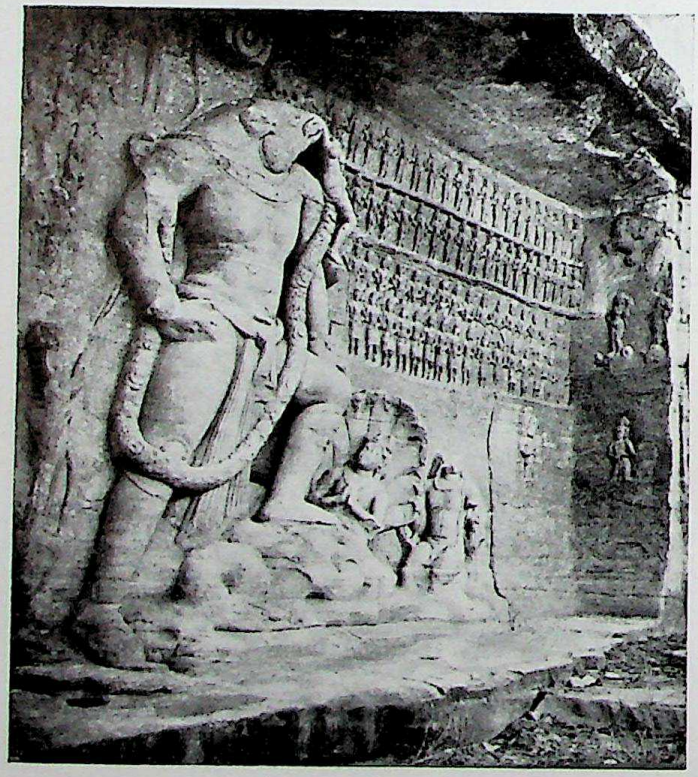
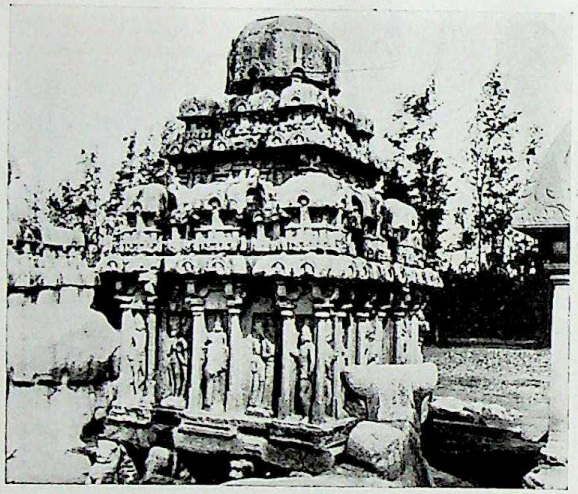


c

a. Varāha—Western Chāḷukya, 6th century A.D., Badāmī, Western India.
b. Varāha—Pallava, 7th century A.D., Mahābalipuram, South India.
c. Varāha—Gupta, 4th century A.D., Udayagiri, Gwalior, Madhya Bhārat.



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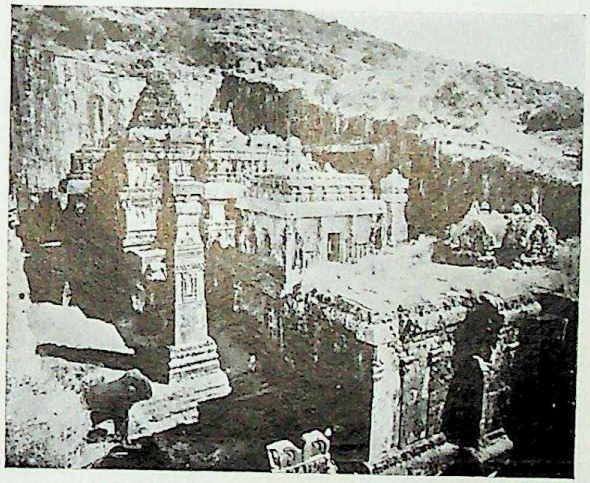

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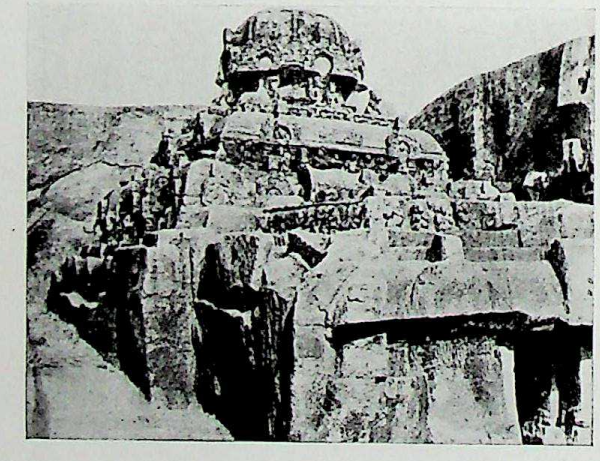

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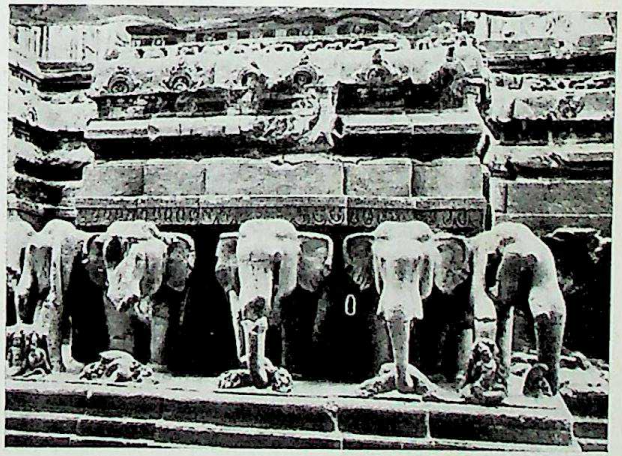

d

a. Arjuna ratha—Pallava, 7th century A.D., Mahābalipuram, South India.
b. Kailāsa temple—Rāshtrakūṭa, 8th century A.D., Ellora, Hyderabad, Deccan.
c. Rock-cut temple—Pāṇḍya, 8th century A.D., Kaḷugumalai, South India.
d. Elephants supporting temple—Rāshṭrakūta, 8th century A.D., Ellora, Hyderabad, Dn.

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PLATE IV

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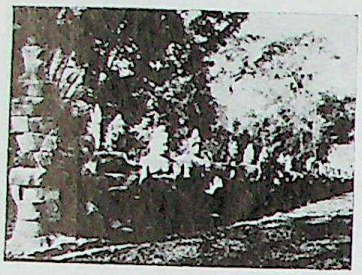

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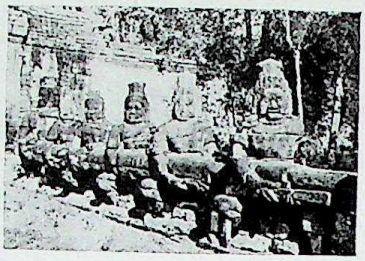

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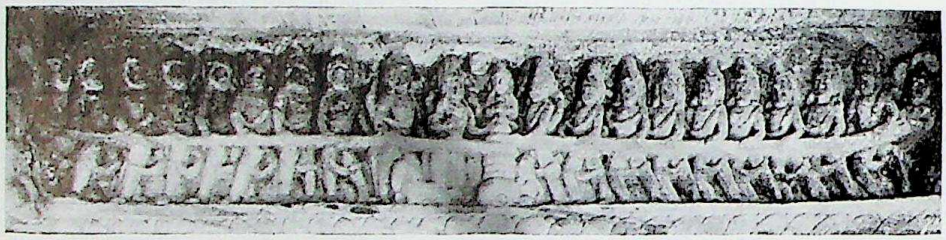

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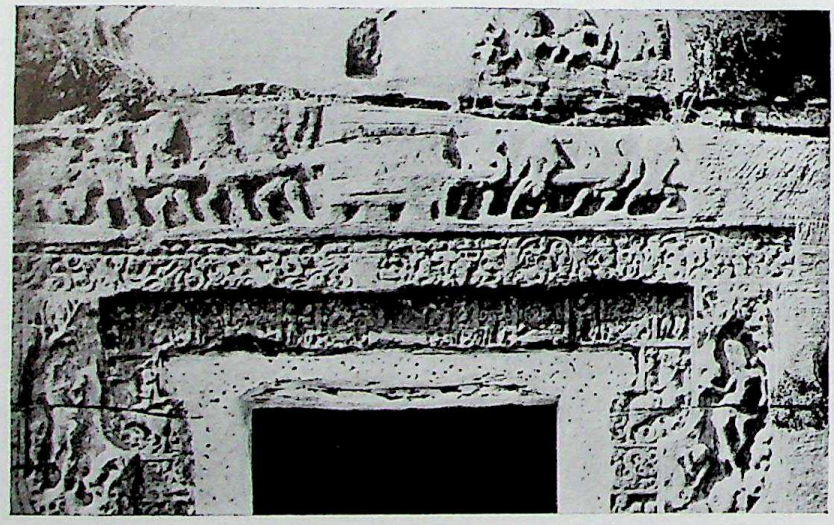

f

a. Devas holding Vāsuki—9th century A.D., Ankor Thom, Cambodia.
b. Four-faced tower—9th century A.D. Ankor Thom, Cambodia.
c. Asuras holding Vāsuki—9th century A.D., Ankor Thom, Cambodia.
d. Amrita-mathana—Kākatīya, 12-13th century A.D., Pillalamarri, Hyderabad, Deccan.
e. „ —Western Chāḷukya, 6th century A.D., Bādāmī, Western India.
f. „ —Gupta, 4th century A.D., Udayagiri, Gwalior, Madhya Bhārat.

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a

b

a. Tripurāntaka—Choḷa 11th century A.D., Tanjore, South India.

b. Fighting Asuras and their tear-stained wives—Choḷa, 11th century A.D., Tanjore, S. India.

PLATE VI

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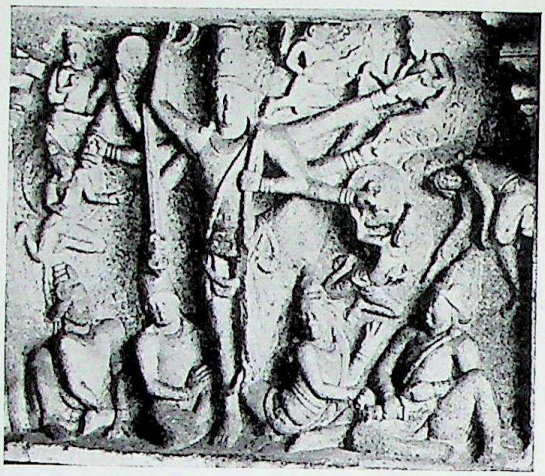
a



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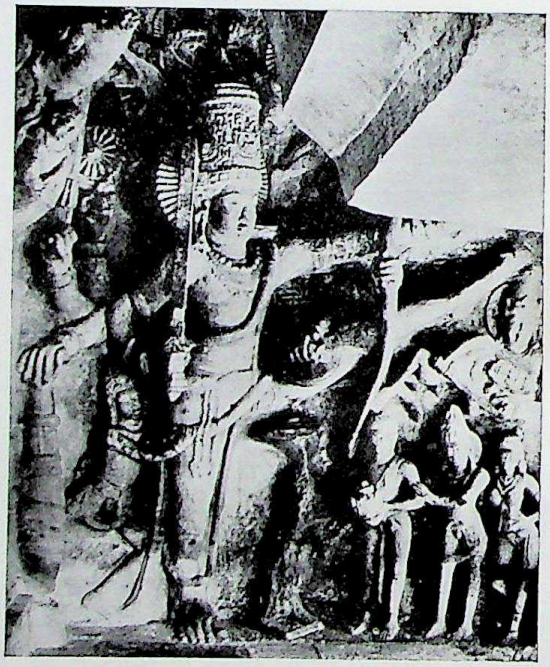

d

a. Tripurāntaka—Choḷa, 11th century A.D., Tanjore, South India.
b. Trivikrama—Pallava, 7th century A.D., Mahābalipuram, South India.
c. Tripurāntaka—Rāshṭrakūṭa, 8th century AD., Kaḷugubalai, South India.
d. Trivikrama—Western Chāḷukya, 6th century A.D., Bādāmī, Western India.

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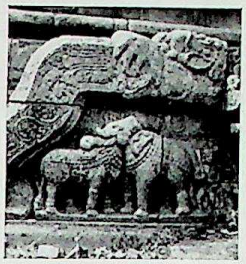
a



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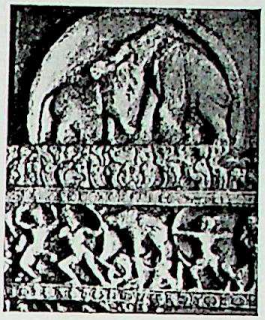

c

d

e

f

a. Gaṇeśa—Western Chāḷukya, 6th century A.D., Bādāmī, Western India.
b. Bull and elephant—Choḷa, 12th century A.D., Dārāsuram, South India.
c. Bull and elephant—Western Chāḷukya, 8th century A.D., Paṭṭaḍakal, Western India.
d. Gaṇeśa from Bhumarā—Gupta, 5th century A.D., Indian Museum, Calcutta.
e. Gaṇeśa—Eastern Chāḷukya, 8th century A.D. Biccavolu, South India.
f. Gaṇeśa—Hoysaḷa, 12th century A.D., Haḷebid, Mysore.

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b

b

c

d

e

f

a. Padmanidhi—Choḷa, 12th century A.D., Dārāsuram, South India.
b. Śāntinātha—Pratīhāra, 9th century A.D., Uttar Pradesh.
c. Śaṅkhanidhi—Choḷa, 12th century A.D., Dārāsuram, South India.
d. Dakshiṇāmūrti—Pallava, 9th century A.D, Kāveripākkam, South India.
e. Naranārāyaṇa—Gupta, 5th century A.D., Deogarh, Uttar Pradesh.
f. Buddha from Sārnāth—Gupta, 6th century A.D., Indian Museum, Calcutta.

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a

b

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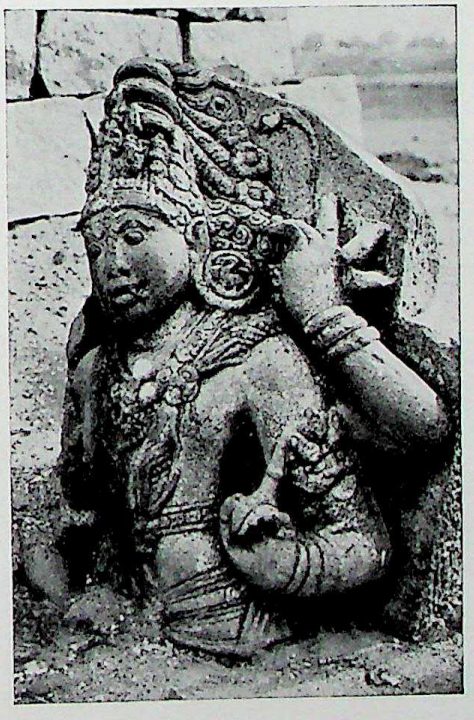


d

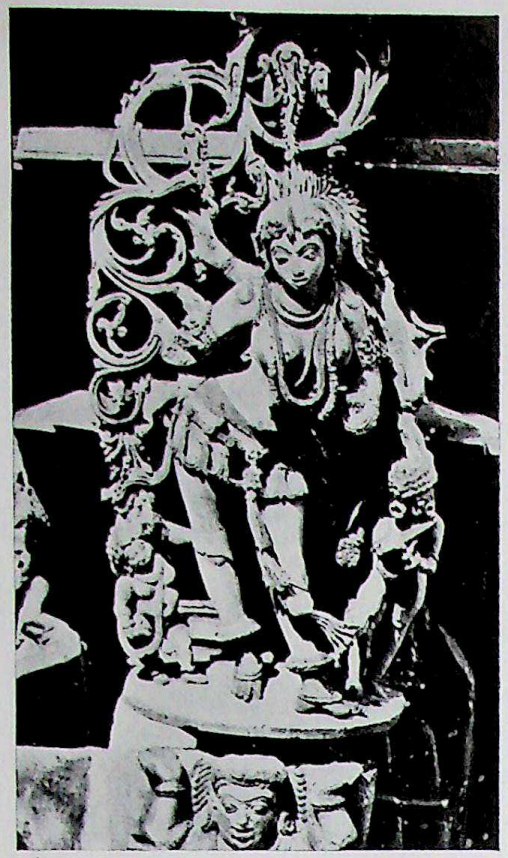
a. Dvārapāla from Kāveripakkam—Pallava, 9th century A.D., Government Museum, Madras.

b. Dvārapāla—Vishṇukuṇḍin, 6th century A.D., Mogalrājapuram, South India.

c. Dvārapāla—Eastern Chāḷukya, 7th century A.D., Vijayavāḍa, South India.

d. Dvārapāla—Pallava, 9th century A.D., Kāveripākkam, South India.

PLATE X



a

b

c

a. Bracket figure—Western Chāḷukya, 11-12th century A.D., Kuruvaṭṭi, South India.
b. Bracket figure—Western Chāḷukya, 6th century A.D., Bādāmī, Western India.
c. Bracket figure—Hoysaḷa, 12th century A D., Belūr, Mysore.

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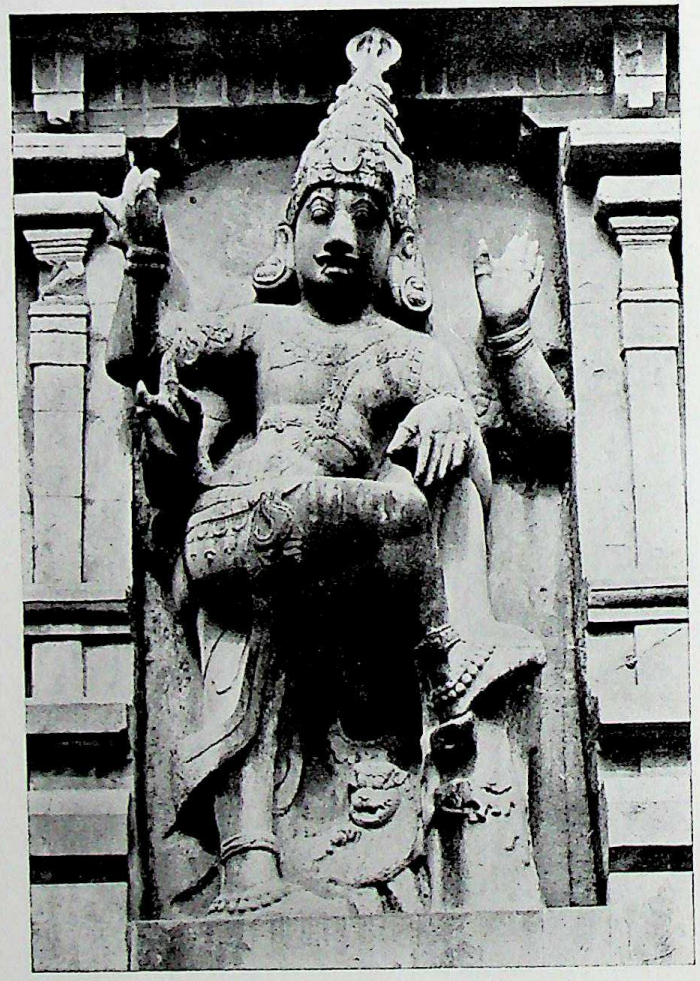

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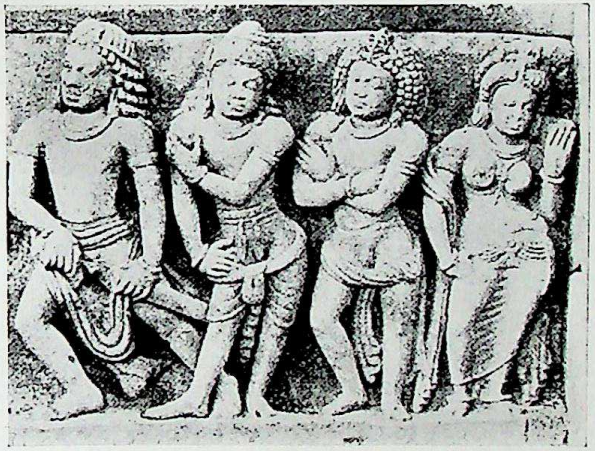

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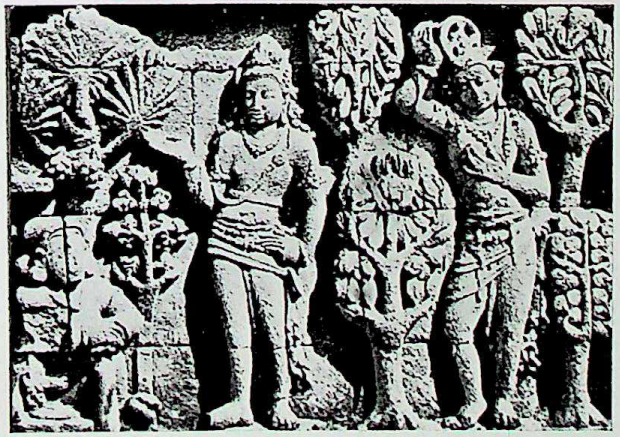

c

a. Dvārapāla—Choḷa, 11th century A.D., Tanjore, South India.

b. Sudarśanachakra—Gupta, 5th century A.D., Deogarh, Uttar Pradesh.

c. Wheel on head—8th century A.D., Barabudur, Java.

PLATE XI

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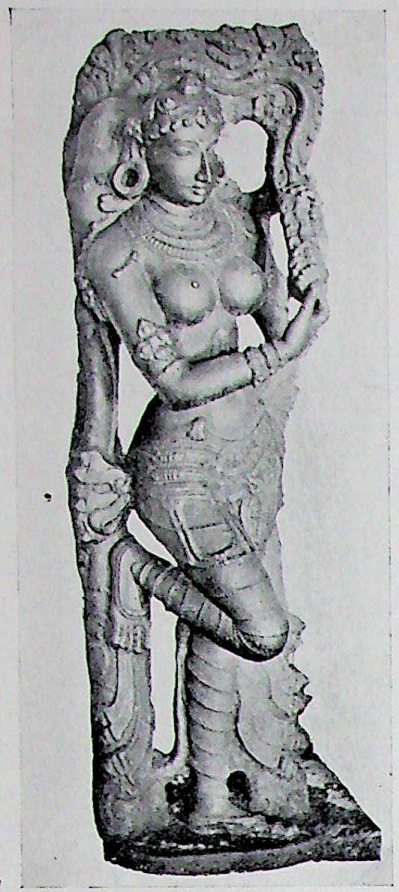

a

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e

a. Sālabhañjikā—Choḷa, 12th century A.D., Tribhuvanam, South India.
b. Gaṅgā—Choḷa, 12th century A.D., Dārās.uram, South India.
c. Nāgī—Eastern Gaṅga, 10th century A.D., Bhuvaneśvar, Orissa.
d. Lion and elephant—Choḷa, 12th century A.D., Dārāsuram, South India.
e. Lion and elephant from Bihar—Pāla, 9th century A.D., Indian Museum, Calcutta.

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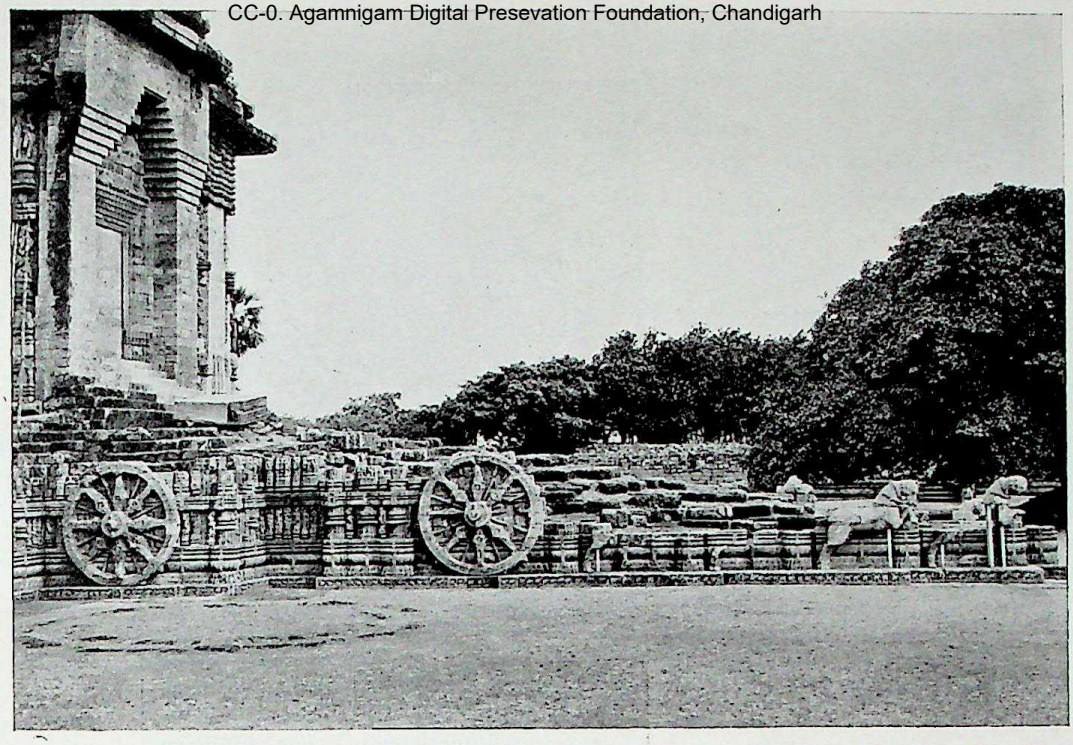

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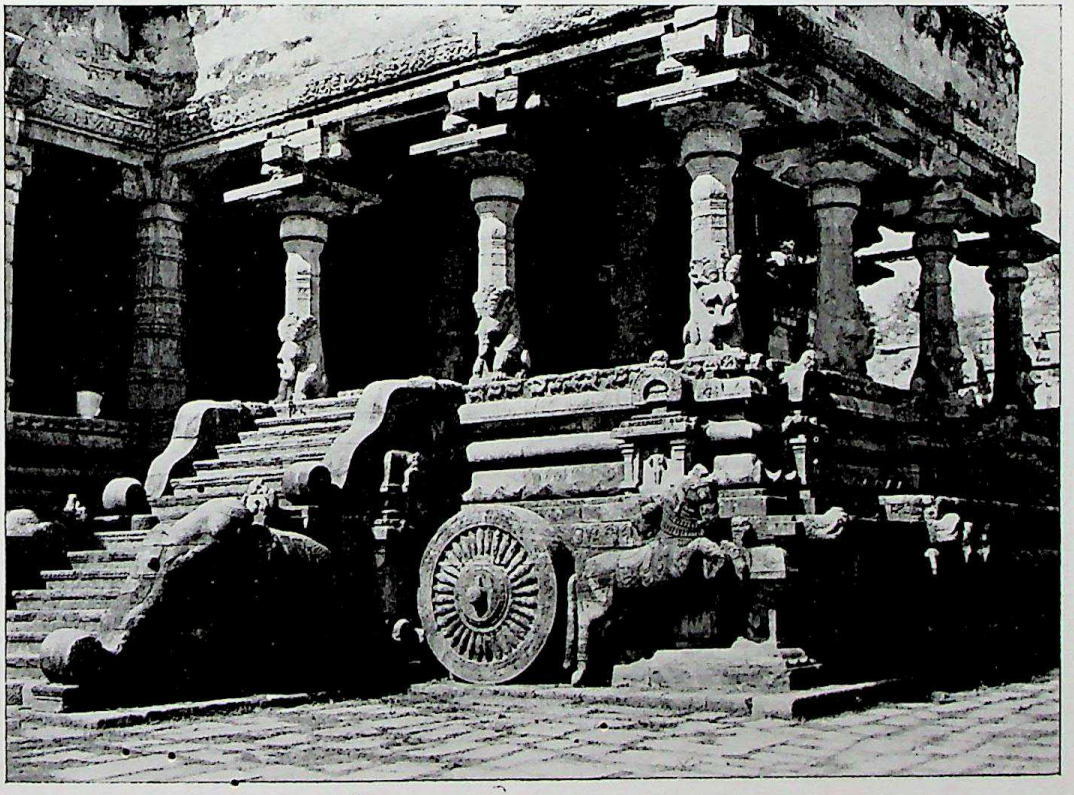
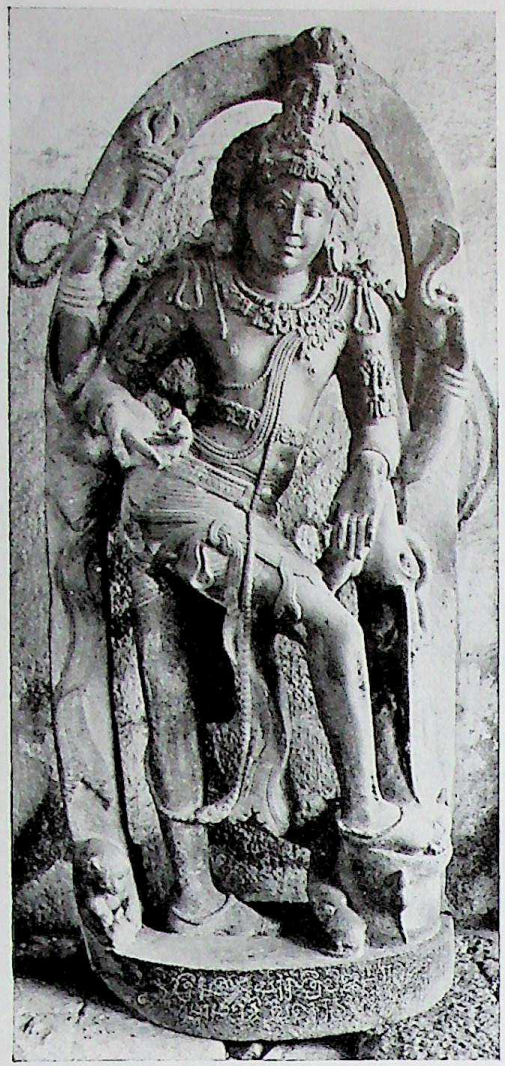


b

a. Wheel and horses—Eastern Gaṅga, 13th century A.D., Koṇārak, Orissa.

b. Wheel and horses—Chola, 12th century A.D., Dārāsuram, South India.



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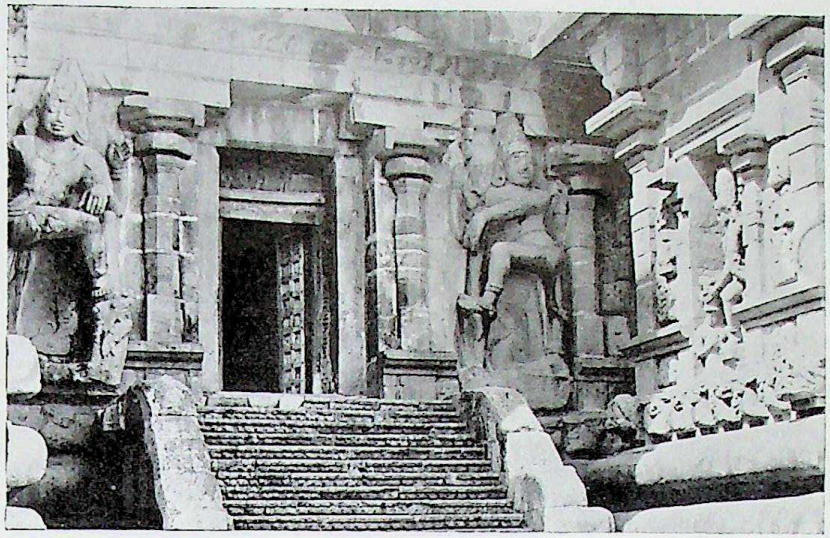

c

a. Chāḷukya Dvārapāla from Kalyāṇī—Western Chāḷukya, 10th century A.D., Dārāsuram, South India.

b. Close up from Dvārapāla—Choḷa, 11th century A.D., Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram, South India.

c. Dvārapāla—Choḷa, 11th century A.D., Gāngaikoṇḍacholapuram, South India.

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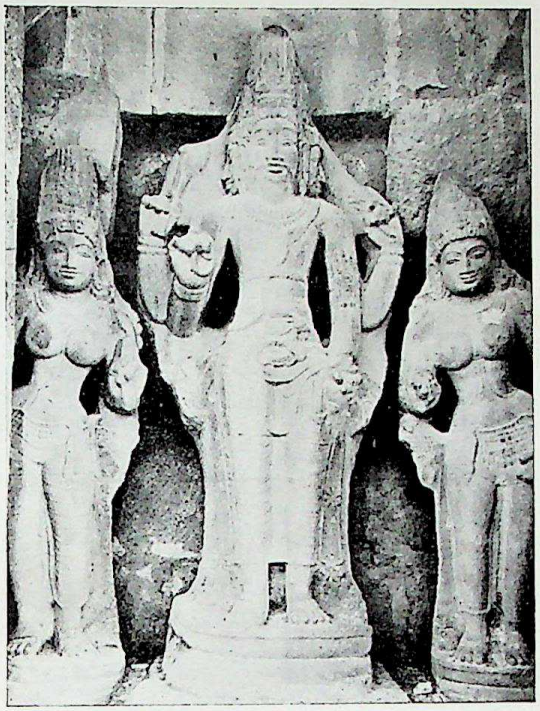

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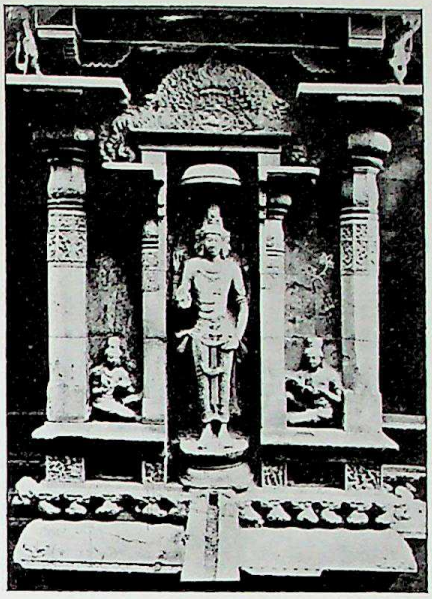

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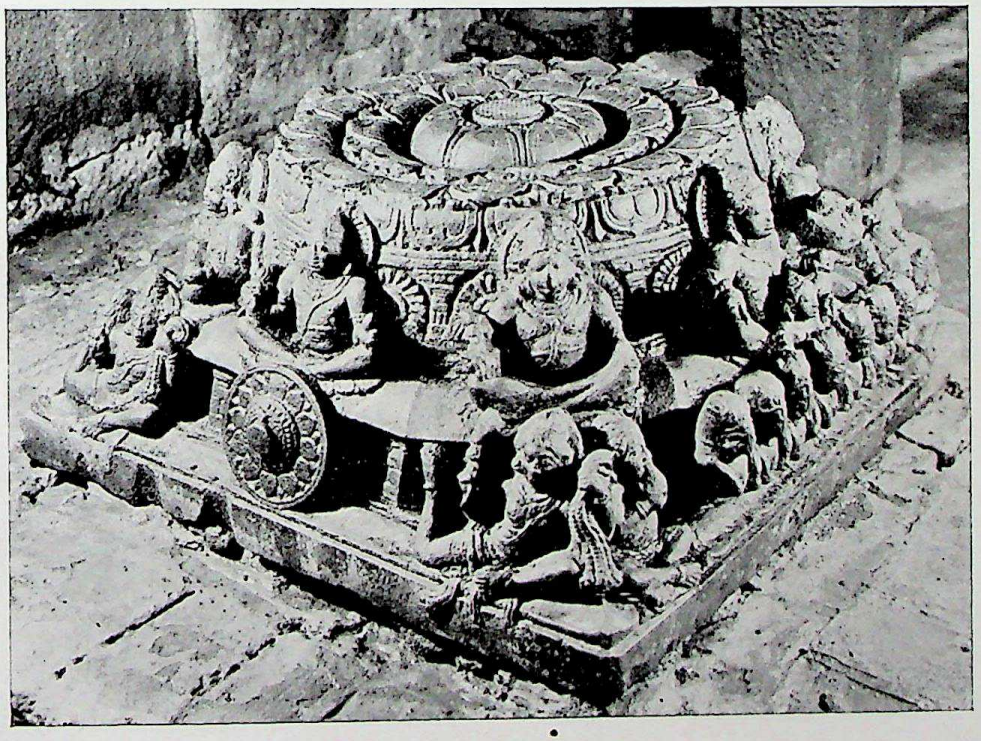

c

a. Brahmā—Choḷa, 11th century A.D., Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram, South India.

b. Brahmā—Choḷa, 10th century A.D., Paśupatikoil, South India.

c. Navagraha—Choḷa, 11th century A.D., Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram, South India.

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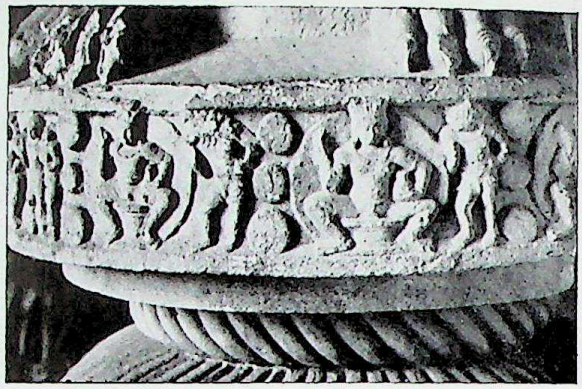
a



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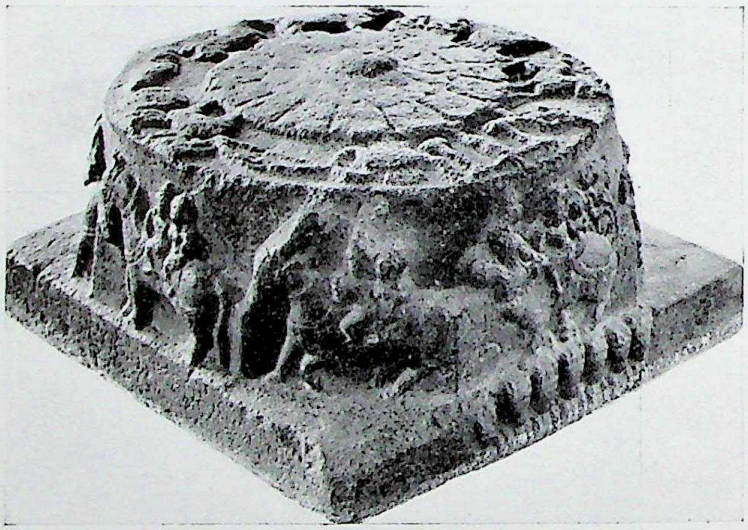

d

a. & b. Grahas and Rāśis on pillar capital—Gupta, 5th century A.D., Gwalior Museum.
c. Navagrahas—Pratīhāra, 9th century A.D., Gwalior Museum.
d. Navagrahas, Rāśis and Lokapālas—Kākatīya, 12th century A.D., Hyderabad Museum.

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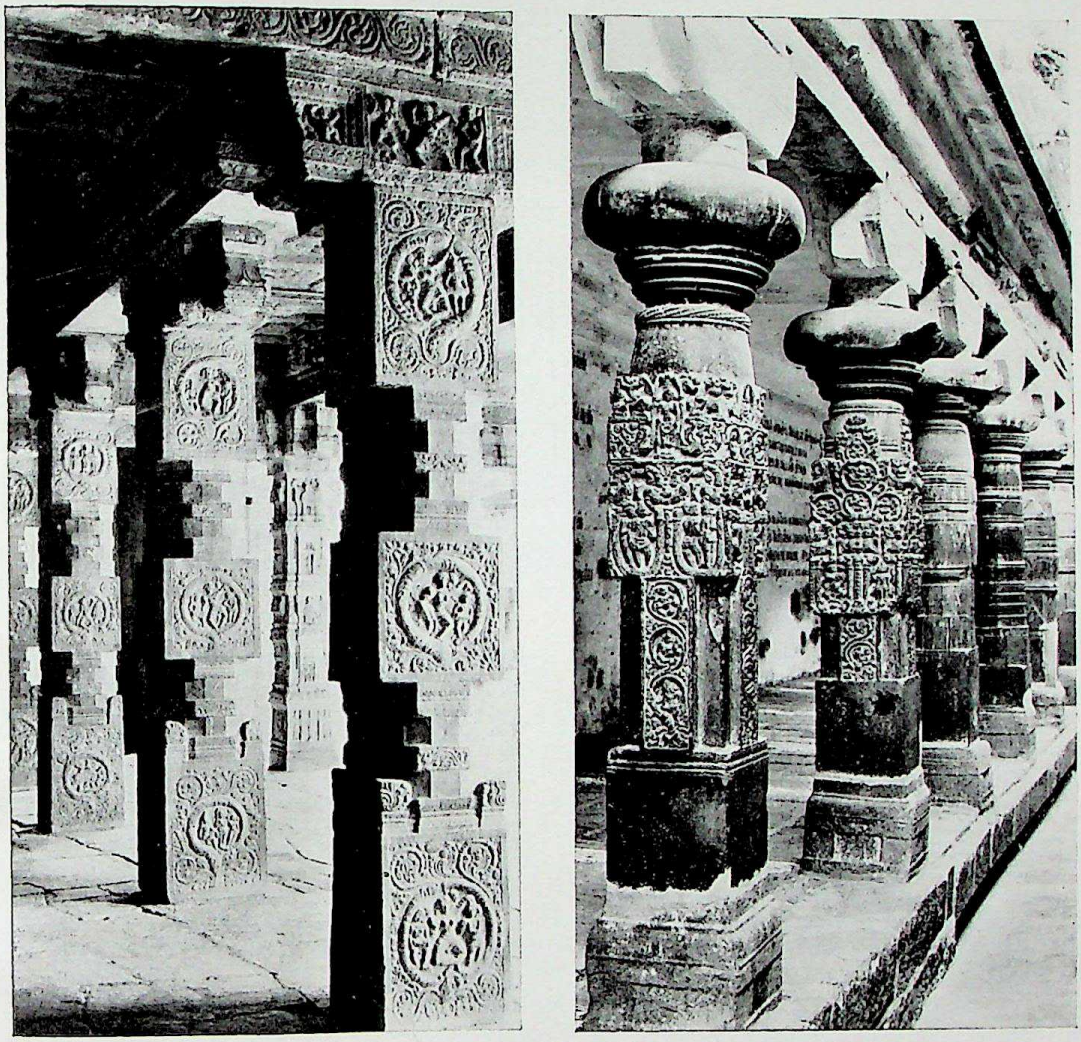

a b

a. Pillars—Choḷa, 12th century A.D., Dārāsuram, South India.
b. Noḷamba pillars from Śiva temple—Noḷamba, 9th century A.D., Tiruvaiyār, South India.

PLATE XVIII

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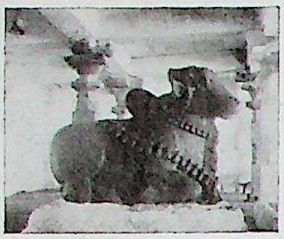

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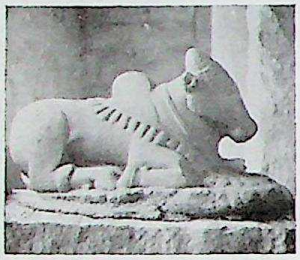

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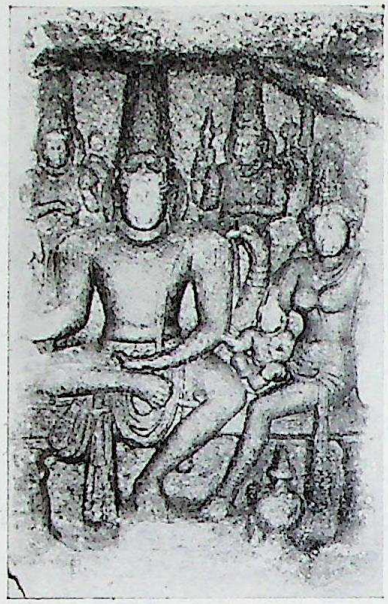

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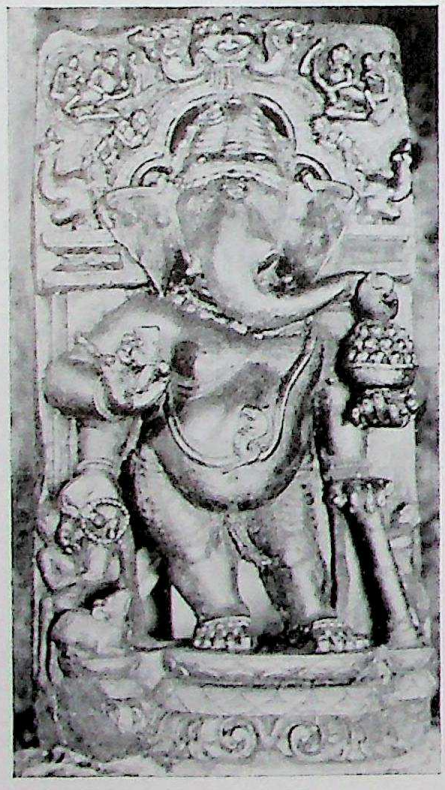

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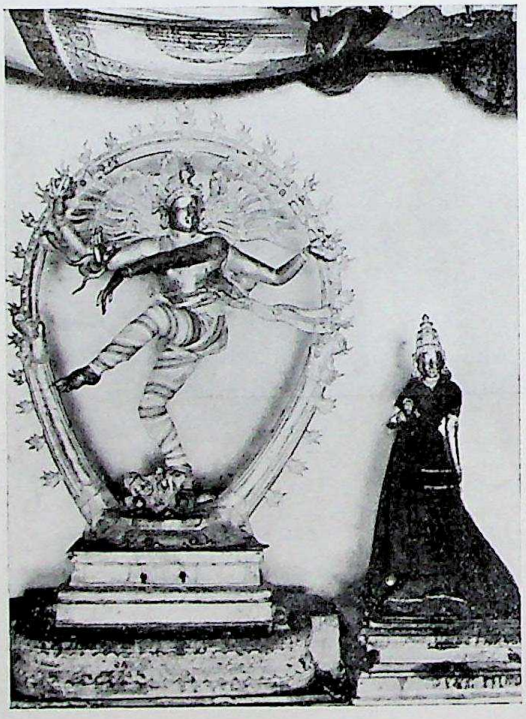

e

a. Bull from Bhīmeśvara temple—Eastern Chāḷukya, 10th century A.D., Sāmalkoṭ, South India.

b. Bull—Eastern Chāḷukya, 10th century A.D., Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram, South India.

c. Somāskanda—Pallava, 7th century A.D., Mahābalipuram, South India.

d. Gaṅga Ganeśa from Nāgeśfarasvāmi temple—Eastern Gaṅga, 10th century A.D., Kumbakoṇam, South India.

e. Naṭarāja and Śivakāmasundarī—Choḷa, 11th century A.D., Tanjore, South India.

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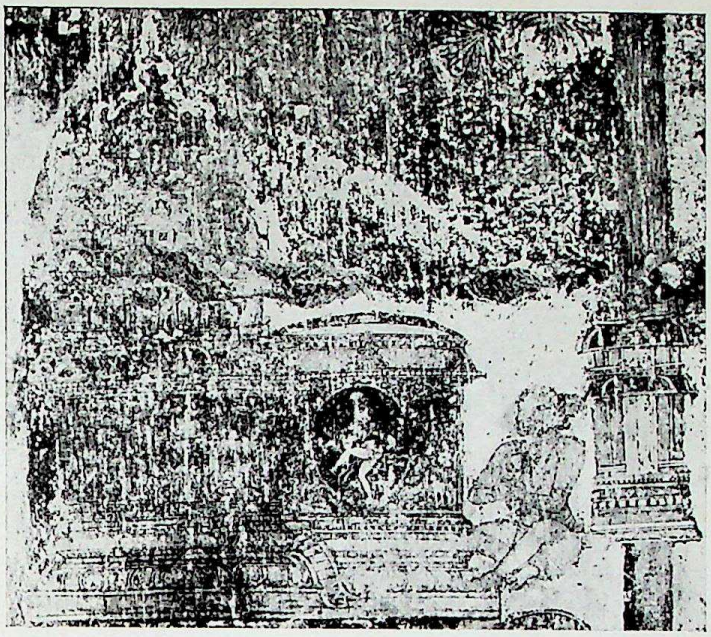

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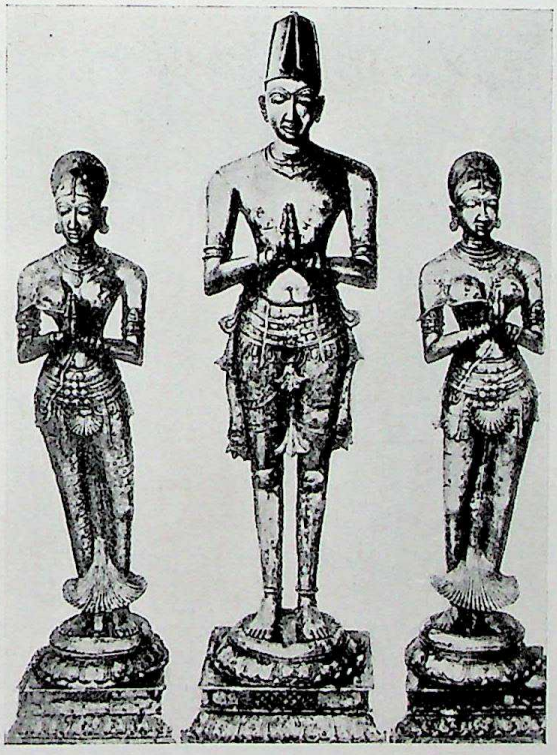

b

a. Chola King before Chidambaram Temple—Chola, 11th century A.D., Tanjore, South India.

b. Krishnadevarāya and Queens—Vijayanagar, 16th century A.D., Tirupati, South India.

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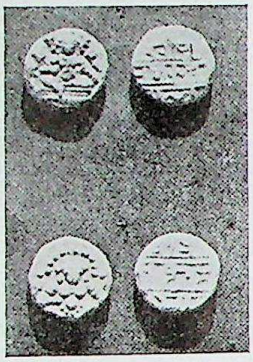
PLATE XX

a



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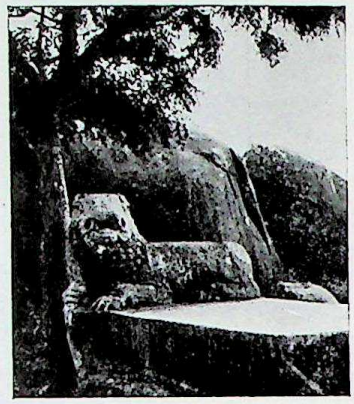

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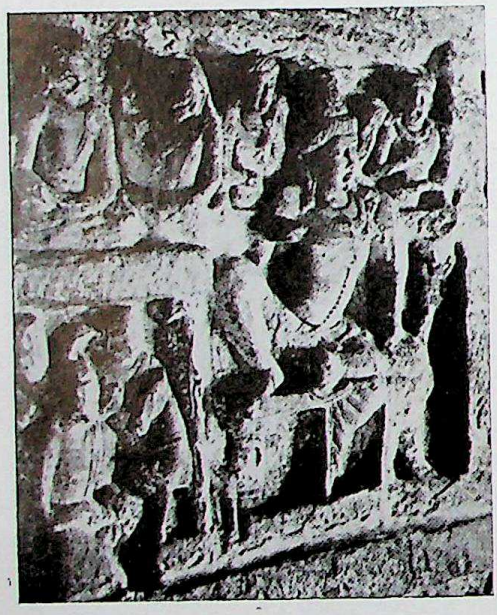

d

e

a. Bālakrishṇa from Hampi—Vijayanagar, 16th century A.D., Government Museum, Madras.

b. Bālakṛishṇa Coin—Vijayanagar, 16th century A.D., Government Museum, Madras.

c. Lion seat—Pallava, 7th century A.D., Mahābalipuram, South India.

d. Scene of Aśvamedha from Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ Temple—Pallava, 8th century A.D., Kāñchīpuram, South India.

e. Aśvamedha horse of stone—Gupta, 4th century A.D., Lucknow Museum.

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a

b

c

d

a. *Brahmā and Sūryachaturmukha, Java—6th century A.D., Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

b. *Gaṇeśa and Vishṇu from Pañchamūrti, Bihar,—Pāla, 11th century A.D., Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

c. *Śiva on Nandī—9th century A.D., Djakarta Museum, Java.*

d. *Adhikāranandi vāhana from Nāgeśvarasvāmi temple—Vijayanagar, 17th century A.D., Kumbakoṇam, South India.*

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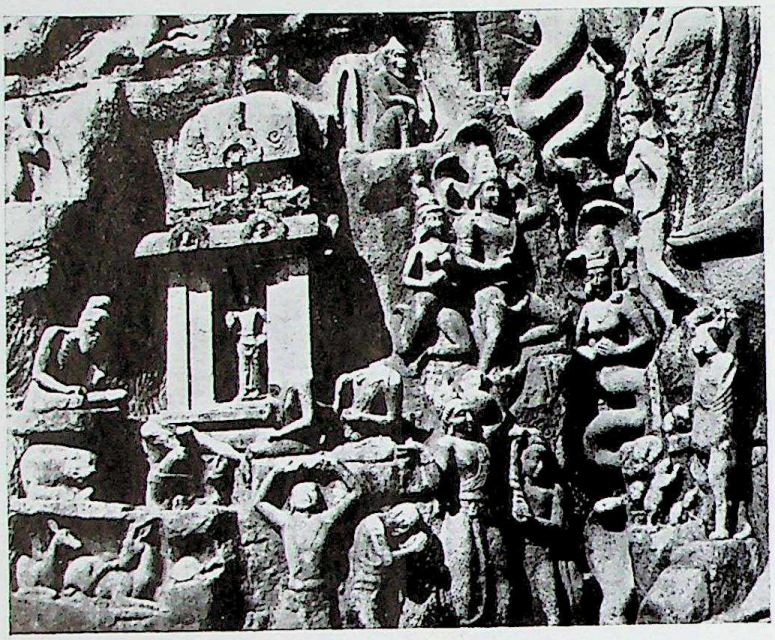
PLATE XXII



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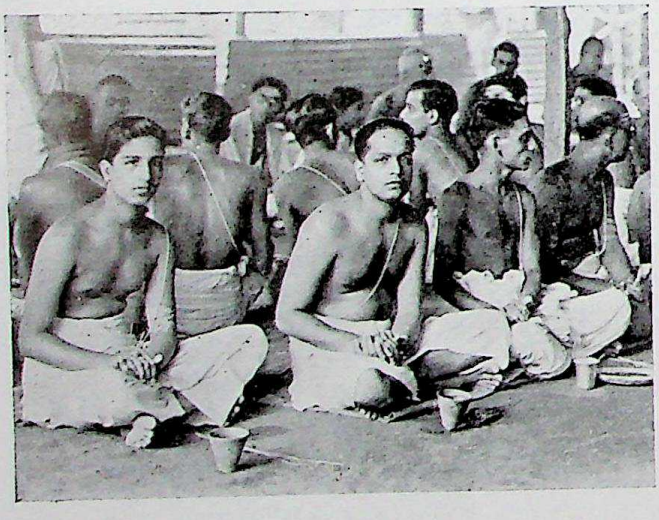

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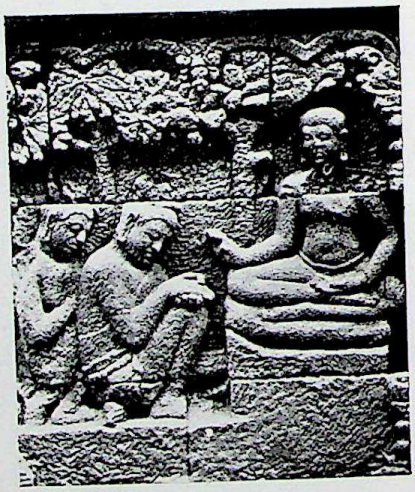

c

a. Sūryopasthāna—Pallava, 7th century A.D., Mahābalipuram, South India.
b. Saṅkalpa from life, South India.
c. Saṅkalpa from sculpture—8th century A.D., Barabudur, Java.

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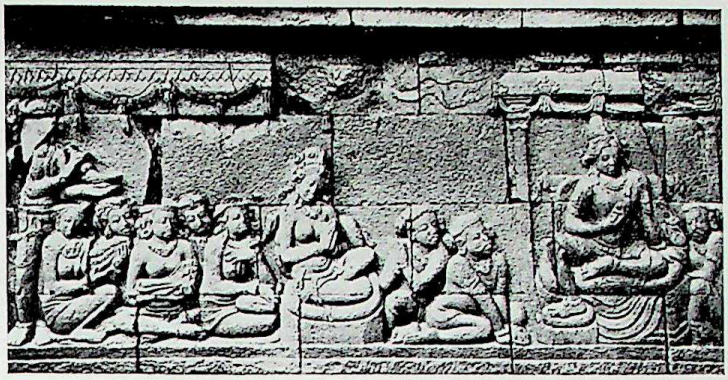

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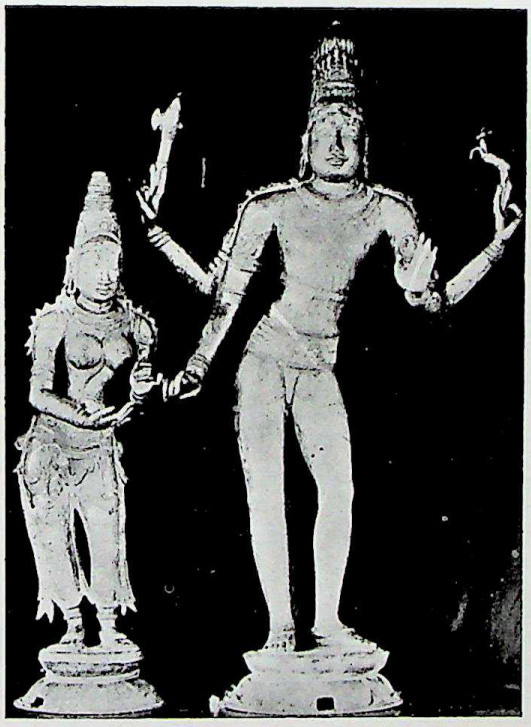

b

c

a. Aśīs in marriage—8th century A.D., Barabudur, Java.
b. Marriage of Śiva (Pāṇigrahaṇa)—Choḷa, 11th century A.D., Tiruvottiyūr, South India.
c. Marriage of Śiva (Saptapadī)—Pāla, 11th century A.D., Rājshāhi Museum.

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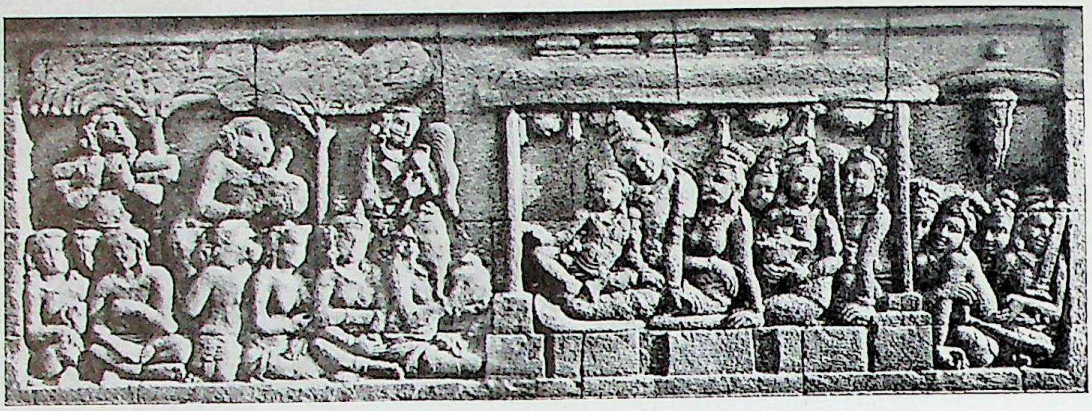
PLATE XXIV



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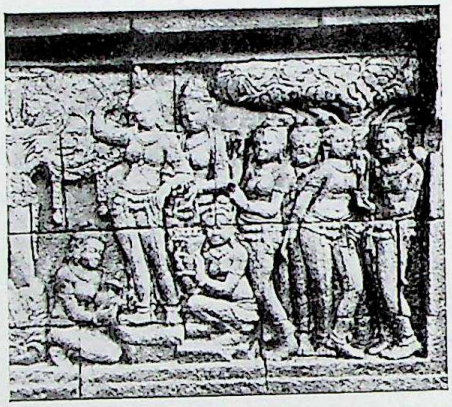

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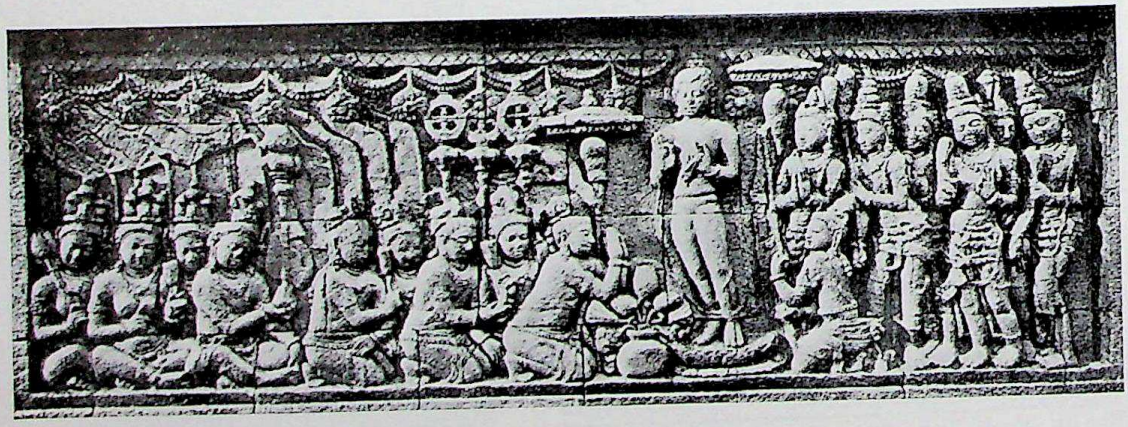

d

a. Jātakarma—8th century A.D., Barabudur, Java.
b. Arghya—8th century A.D., Barabudur, Java.
c. Pādya—8th century A.D., Barabudur, Java.
d. Pūrnakumbha—8th century A.D., Barabudur, Java.

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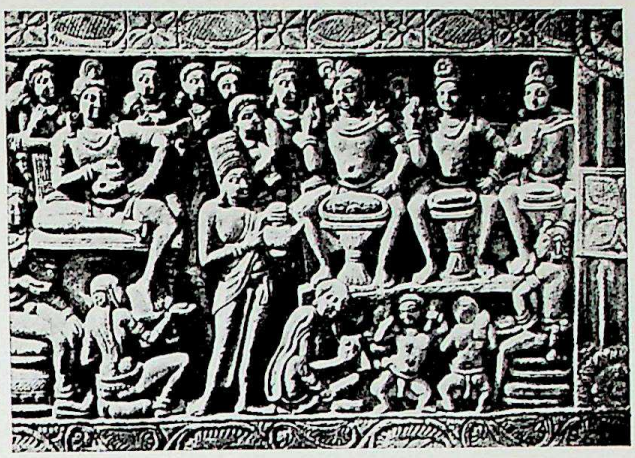
a



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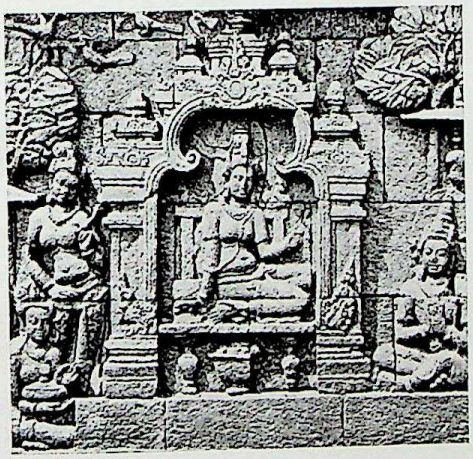

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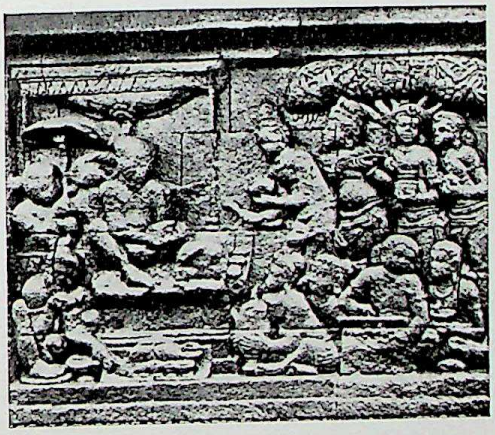

d

a. Yajñopavīta in South Indian bronze—Pallava, 9th century A.D., Indian Museum, Calcutta.

b. Pātrāsana—Ikshvāku, 3rd century A.D., Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, South India.

c. Yajñopavīta—8th century A.D., Barabudur, Java,

d Pātrāsana—8th century A.D., Barabudur, Java.

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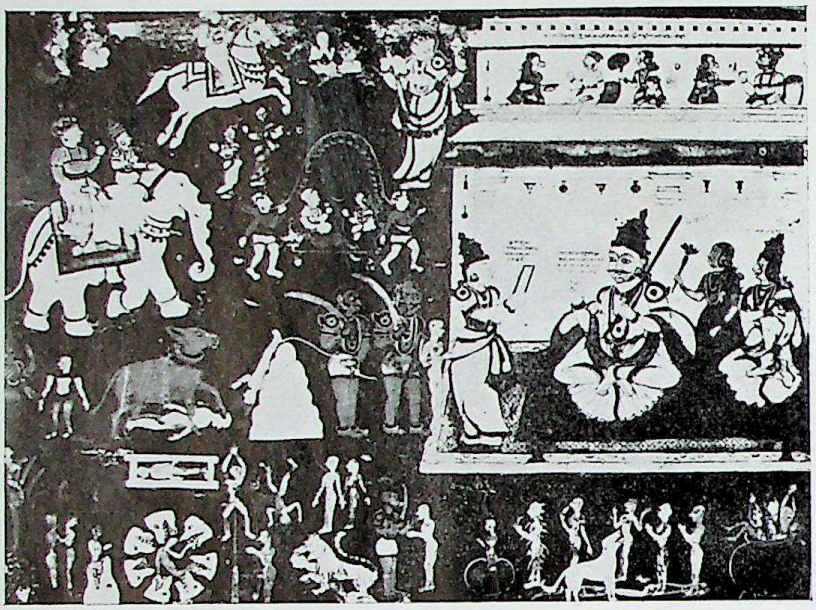
PLATE XXVI



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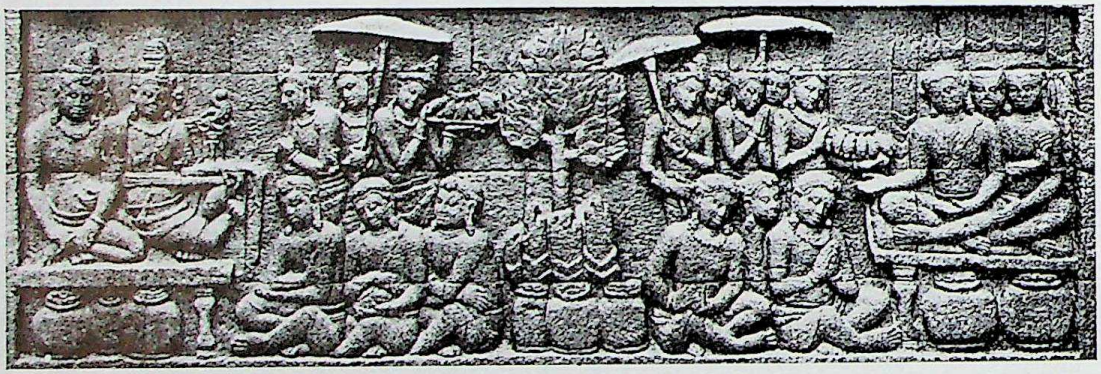

b

c

a. *Yamapata painting from Cuddapah—Deccani School, 18th century A.D., Government Museum, Madras.*

b. *Heaven for good deeds—8th century A.D., Barabudur, Java.*

c. *Hell for bad deeds—8th century A.D., Barabudur, Java.*

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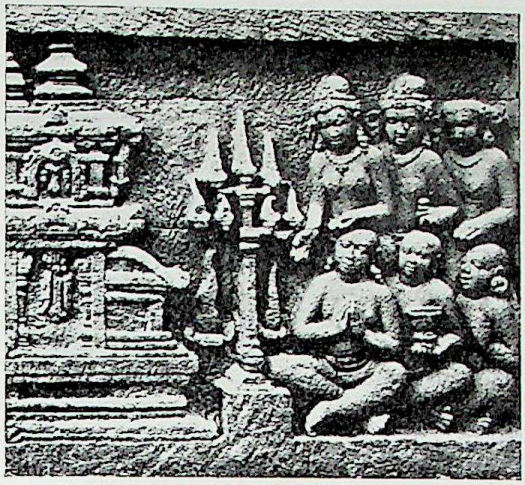

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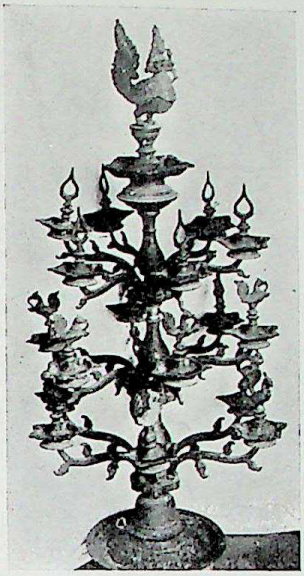

b

c

d

a. Dīpavṛiksha—8th century A.D., Barabudur, Java.
b. Dīpavṛiksha from South India—18th century A.D., Indian Museum, Calcutta.
c. Jar held as spout—Eastern Gaṅga, 9th century A.D., Mukhaliṅgam, Orissa.
d. Jar held as spout—10th century A.D., Bali.

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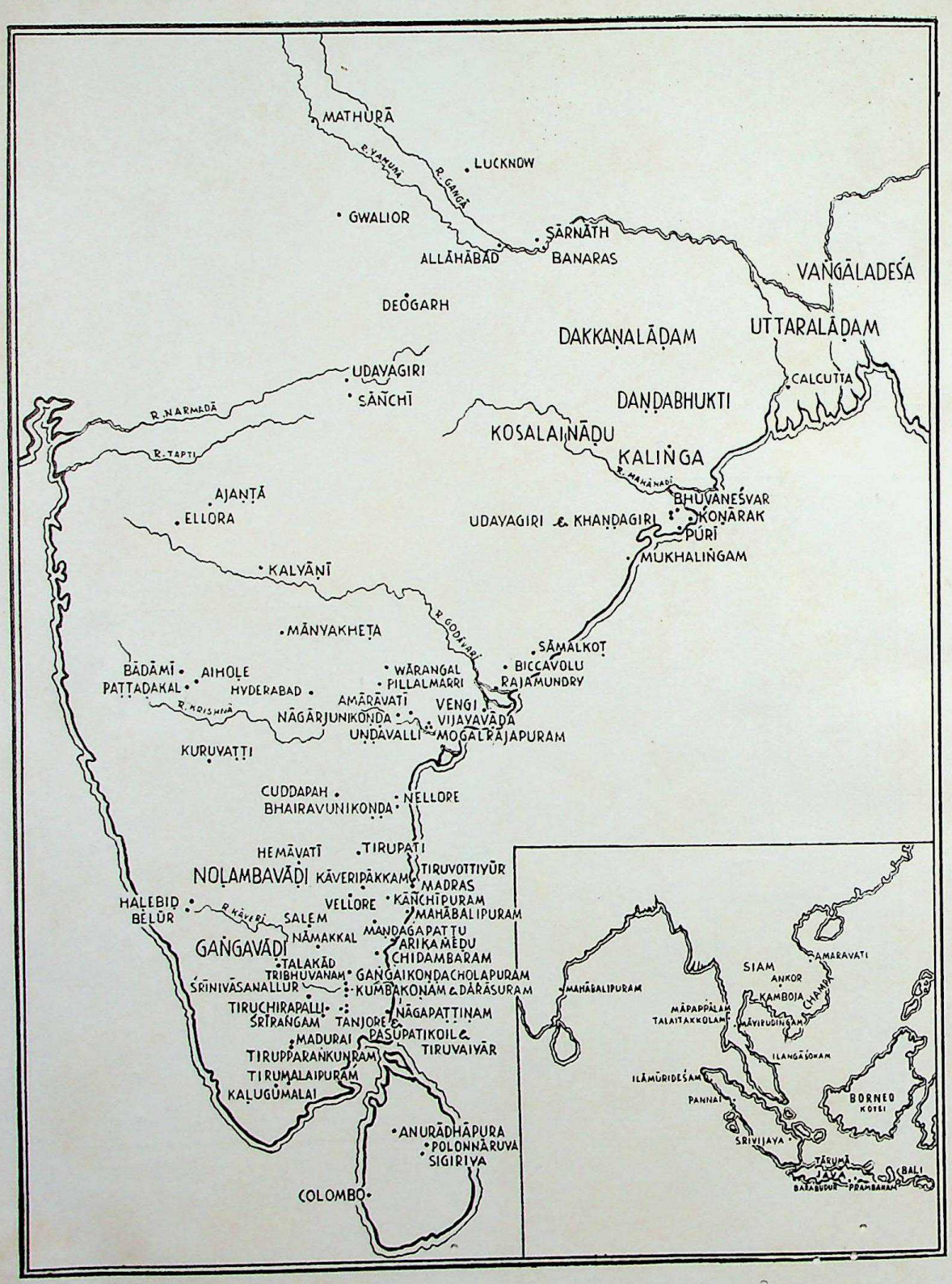

Map showing important places connected with royal conquests and cultural migrations in South India and the Deccan.

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